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THE POEMS OF

Richard LOVELACE

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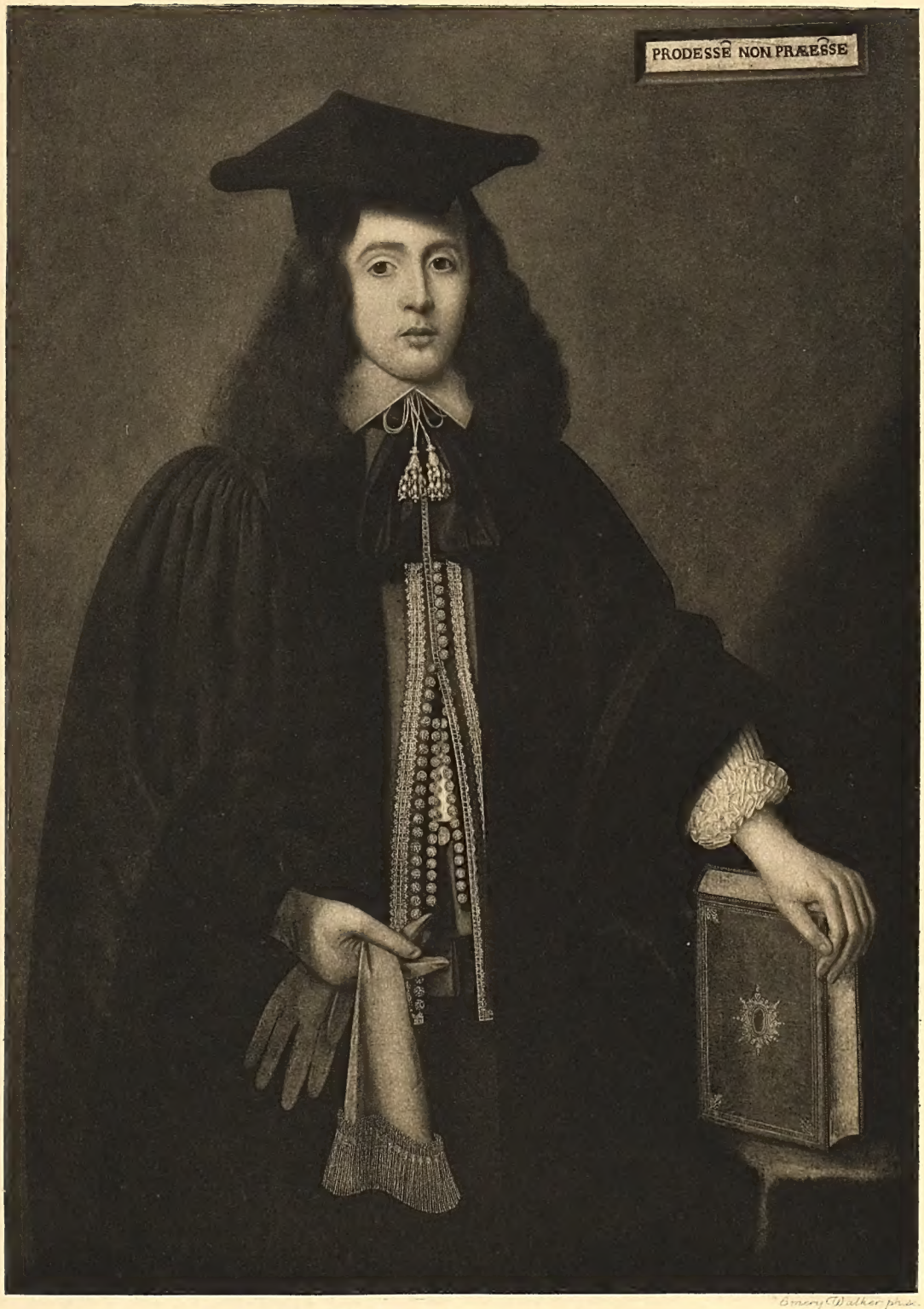

Emery Walker phot.

Richard Lovelace

Hon. M.A. Oxon. Aetat 18

From the portrait belonging to the Editor

THE POEMS OF
Richard
LOVELACE

Edited by

C. H. WILKINSON

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PREFACE

THIS edition of the poems of Richard Lovelace will supply no long-felt want, nor can it reasonably be claimed that *Lucasta* is one of the books

> . . . . that have not attain'd
> To the Platonick year, but wait their course,
> And happy hour, to be reviv'd again.

Lovelace's best poems are well known and the text of his two little volumes is not inaccessible. As, however, the pleasure an editor finds in its preparation is hardly sufficient excuse for the existence of a book, it may be said that an attempt has been made to bring together all available information with regard to the poet, and to render the edition as complete as possible by the inclusion of portraits, of engravings, and of contemporary music.

Although he does not rank as one of the more important, there is no more picturesque figure among all the English poets than that of Lovelace. For this reason, were there no other, his work should be handsomely set out. This has been very sufficiently done by the care, the resource, and the skill of the Clarendon Press. So far as is compatible with books so different in size, the appearance of the original volumes has been kept. The arrangement of the poems, even the mixture of different founts of type have been carefully followed. Variant readings and notes, by which the page is disfigured and the mind of the reader 'refrigerated by interruption', have been banished to places of their own where, if desired, they can be consulted by the curious.

Editors are often accused of making unreasonable claims for the subject of their labours. Any such

excess of zeal would be peculiarly inappropriate in the present case and it is hoped that it has been avoided. It is enough for an editor of Lovelace to ask in the words of Prior—changing the gender as did a famous sporting lecturer who told his audience if they considered the horse not as good as he might be, to cherish the reflection that he might have been far worse:

> Be to his Virtues very kind,
> Be to his Faults a little blind.

To record obligations is both a duty and a pleasure. When an editor has the privilege of being able to mention the names of Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, K.C., and of Mr. Percy Simpson, it is also to some extent a guarantee, for with two such names 'in the forehead of the book' any edition must contain matter of value, whatever the shortcomings of the editor. Mr. Simpson has made a number of helpful suggestions, particularly with regard to the text. It is impossible fully to acknowledge the extent of my obligations to Mr. Thorn-Drury. He has lent me his own annotated copy of Lovelace, from which I have borrowed freely; he has patiently answered every question, and there were many, which I have asked him; he has looked through my proofs and saved me from numerous blunders. I have made particular mention only of what seem the more important of his contributions. I should wish to add my gratitude to the late Sir Walter Raleigh, who suggested to me that I should undertake this edition. I have to thank the Picture Gallery Committee of Dulwich College for allowing me to include reproductions of the portraits of

Lovelace and of 'Althea'. The music of the song 'Tell me *Alexis*' is reproduced from a copy of the rare second volume of Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1659, kindly lent to me by Messrs. P. J. and A. E. Dobell. I am much indebted to the Rev. H. R. Cooper Smith, D.D., who has allowed me to include the songs by Henry Lawes from the manuscript in his possession. The reproduction of Lovelace's petition to the House of Commons is included by permission of the Clerk of the Parliaments.

The Frontispiece.

Since the note on this picture (p. lxxvii) was printed, I have been able to obtain some further information with regard to Thomas Coke. Before he was admitted to Gray's Inn he was at Cambridge. There is the following entry in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Pt. I, vol. i, p. 387): 'Matric. Pell-Com. from Trinity, Easter, 1628. One of these names, s. and h. of Thomas, of Cley, Norfolk, adm. at Gray's Inn, Oct. 27, 1626.' There seems to be a wrong identification in the second part of this statement, and a failure to notice that Thomas Coke was the son of the Secretary of State. That he was so is clear, as Mr. Godfrey Davies has pointed out to me, from *Cowper MSS.* I. pp. 393–4 (Historical Manuscripts Commission), where is printed a letter, dated Dec. 1, 1629, from John Whincop, Fellow of Trinity College, to Sir John Coke about his son. The son is unnamed, but can only be Thomas by a process of elimination. He was the third and youngest son. The eldest died of 'spotted fever' in Jan. 1624; the second matri-

culated on Jan. 30, 162$\frac{3}{4}$. (See also *Cowper MSS.* I. p. 158.) Thomas Coke's father matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of seventeen, and this was about the usual age. Thomas was therefore about seventeen in 1628. In 1636, when he was given his honorary degree, he would be twenty-five. A single glance at the portrait in question will show that it cannot represent a man of that age. According to the registers, Thomas was buried on Aug. 23, 1656, at Melbourne. The Rev. E. T. Harcombe, who kindly sent me this fact, also informs me that there is no monument or memorial, which might give his exact age, to Thomas, nor to any other member of the Coke family in Melbourne Church. Such memorials were probably removed on the restoration of the church in 1861.

Mr. C. F. Bell has been good enough to give me the following detailed description of the portrait:

'The picture is painted on canvas 46 inches high by 33 inches wide. The background is a cool greenish grey, the binding of the book is slate grey and the bands, bandstrings and cuffs are also grey rather than white. This general coldness of hue is carried into the flesh tints. The gloves are buff and the table-cloth is green. The only relief to this mass of cool tones, the dark hair and black gown, is afforded by small portions of the red lining of the hood, seen at the neck, and the brilliant orange-scarlet of the outer waistcoat, worn over a black one, both of them closely edged with gold buttons, and the scarlet with gold lace as well. The use of actual metal in the gilding of these details, and also in the edges of the book and the

ornament on its side, the fringe of the gloves and the inscription tablet in the background, is very remarkable for so late a period. So uncommon, in fact, that it ought, with more intimate knowledge, to be sufficient to identify the painter.

'Holbein, who died close upon a century before the presumed date of the present portrait, was the last of the great masters to use gilding in his pictures, and the usage died out, even among provincial artists, during the second half of the sixteenth century. Indeed so secondary and rustic a face-painter as Gilbert Jackson—to whom, did the appearance of the picture allow, it would be tempting to attribute an academic portrait of this period—represented gold and did not employ it.

'The peculiar colour-scheme and the smooth and solid style of execution suggest Dutch influence, probably that of the Amsterdam school and of some such painter as Thomas de Keyser or the artist of the portrait group No. 1699 in the National Gallery, now officially assigned to Michael Sweertz. No trace of inspiration due to Van Dyck or Mytens is to be detected. Such discrepancies as the feeble drawing of the hands and impossible perspective of the book, contrasting oddly with the excellent characterization of the head and agreeable design of the whole, are not uncommon in portraits of the period and may be taken in this case to indicate that the artist had only mastered part of his craft, not that the unimportant parts of the picture are the work of an assistant.

'Attempts to give names to portraits of uncertain identity on grounds of resemblance to authenticated likenesses are notoriously hazardous and difficult

to establish. But in the case of the present picture there are several qualifications which bound the inquiry rather straitly. In the first place the style of the dress and of the painting fix the date within a quarter of a century and possibly less. The rarity of portraits of youths in full academical costume, and the purport of the motto, point to the commemoration of some peculiar distinction. Of the few individuals who can be brought within the bounds thus circumscribed Richard Lovelace is one. We possess an authentic portrait of the poet in later life which shows certain strongly marked features; these same characteristics are accentuated in the picture of the youth. If there be an instance in which it is permissible to name a portrait which has lost its identity, this is surely that instance.'

The Gaywood Engraving.

The earliest authority for the association of Lovelace with the subject of this engraving appears to be one F. W. writing in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1792 (vol. i, p. 166). He gives the print to Hollar. It is more probably by Gaywood as stated in the fifth edition of Granger's *Biographical History of England*, 1824 (vol. iii, p. 132). The identification with Lovelace is not made in the earlier editions of Granger, of which the first appeared in 1769, nor in 'H. Bromley's' *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*, 1793. Whether it is based on anything more than bare conjecture I am unable to say.

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INTRODUCTION

RICHARD LOVELACE

RICHARD LOVELACE, the eldest son of Sir William Lovelace 'of Woollidg in *Kent* Knight' and of his wife Anne (Barne), was born in 1618, possibly at Woolwich, but more probably in Holland. His name has not been found in any church register—the Woolwich register does not begin till 1663—and his mother certainly spent some time in Holland, a fact she herself mentions in her will where she bequeaths to Richard 'my sonne . . . my best suite of diaper, which I made in the Low Countries'.[1] The verses contributed by John Harmar to *Lucasta* also tend to cast doubt on the theory that Lovelace was born in Kent, for, though he refers to the poet's Kentish ancestors—'Cujus honoratos Cantia vidit Avos'—Harmar makes no reference to Lovelace's own connexion with the county.

The Lovelaces were an old Kentish family—a William Lovelace of Bethersden[2] was among the gentlemen concerned in the rising of the 'Commons of Kent' in 1450 under Cade—and owned property at Bethersden from 1368 until the middle of the seventeenth century, when Richard Lovelace sold Lovelace Place to Richard Hulse. Philipott relates in picturesque language the history of the place:

Bethersden in the Hundred of *Chart* and *Longbridge*, contains several

[1] She also leaves him 'my furniture for a bedde of blacke velvet with cushions, chaires, and carpetts, as the same is wrought in colours by his grandmother the Lady Lovelace, . . . and a pair of fine holland sheets and a black gilded Cabonett which was his father's, and all those goods and implements of household which are standing and remaining in his chief house at Bethersden, and the pictures of his father and myself and his grandfather, and my wedding ring which was his father's'. Provision is made in the will for the younger children. (*Archæologia Cantiana*, x, p. 209.)

[2] '*Bethersden*, written anciently *Beatrixden*, that is, *Beatrix's* Valley.' (Philipott, *Villare Cantianum*, 1659, p. 395.)

several places in it considerable, the first that summons our Notice is *Bethersden-Lovelace*, which celebrates the Memory of a Family called *Grensted*, now vulgarly styled *Greenstreet*, who were its elder proprietaries, the last of whom was *Henry de Grensted*, a man of eminent Repute, as the Records of this county testifie, in the reign of *Edward* the second, and *Edward* the third, but fell under some Umbrage and Obscurity, when he passed away his Estate here to *Kinet*, in whom the possession was very volatile, for *William Kinet* in the forty first year of *Edward* the third, conveyed it by Sale to *John Lovelace*, who here erected that Structure that for so many Descents hath born the Name of this Family, and was the Seminary or Seedplot from whence a Race of Gentlemen issued forth, who have in Military Affairs atchieved Reputation and Honour, with a prodigal Losse and Expence both of Blood and Life, and by their deep Judgement in the municipal Laws have deserved well of the Common-Wealth; and as by their Extraction they are descended from noble Families, so from hence have sprung those of *Bayford* in *Sedingbourn* and *Kingsdown*, with the right Honourable the Lord *Lovelace* of *Hurley*, and other Gentlemen of that Stem in *Barkeshire*; but alas! this Mansion is now like a Dial when the Sun is gone, that then onely is of use to declare that there hath been a Sun, for not many years since Colonel *Richard Lovelace* eldest son to Sir *William Lovelace* the last of this Name at this place, passed away his right in *Bethersden Lovelace* to Mr. *Richard Hulse* descended from the ancient Family of *Hulse* of *Norbury* and *Astly* in *Cheshire*.[1]

Richard Lovelace had four brothers, Thomas, Francis, William, and Dudley Posthumus,[2] and three sisters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Johanna.[3] His father, who had been knighted at Theobald's by James I in 1609, was killed at the siege of Groll

[1] *Villare Cantianum*, 1659, p. 72. A full account of the Kentish families of Lovelace, with genealogies of different branches of the family, is given in the articles by the Rev. A. J. Pearman in vols. x and xx of *Archæologia Cantiana*.

[2] For Thomas and Francis Lovelace see note to p. 2. William was killed at Carmarthen in 1645, probably when serving under the command of Francis. See Richard's poem, vol. ii, p. 78. For Dudley see note to p. 13.

[3] Anne married John Gorsage, Rector of Walkern, Herts.; Elizabeth, Daniel Hayne of Kintbury Eaton, Berks.; and Johanna, Robert Caesar, son of Sir Julius Caesar. See vol. ii, p. 163.

Groll in 1627 at the age of forty-four.[1] His will, made on July 15, 1622, was proved on July 23, 1628. The poet's grandfather, also Sir William Lovelace, who was knighted at Dublin by the Earl of Essex in 1599, died two years after his son on Oct. 6, 1629, and was buried on the 12th 'in the South Chappell of the Parish Church of Bethersden in the County of Kent near unto the south wall therein',[2] as he had desired. The elder Sir William Lovelace owned a considerable amount of property at Bethersden, Halden, Woolwich—which his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Aucher of Bishopsbourne, brought to him—Canterbury—where 'Grey Friars', in which he used to live, is still standing in part—and other places. Most of this property was sold by his grandson when he fell on evil days towards the end of his life.[3]

We have no record of any of the events of the poet's boyhood before he went to school. His mother had been granted the wardship of her son Richard, and in 1629 she petitioned the King for a nomination to Sutton's Foundation at Charterhouse on behalf of one of her sons.[4] The following document

[1] Eight days before the surrender of the town to the Prince of Orange, after the first summons to capitulate. 'Cela estant rapporté à Dulquen, respondit hardiment, comme s'il eust esté beaucoup esloigné du peril, qu'il ne vouloit entendre à aucune composition. C'est pourquoy, sur l'heure de midy, du dix-huictiesme du mois d'Aoust, ayant mis le feu aux mines que les Anglois auoient faites, les éuenta, & toutefois les assiegeans ne tindrẽt les choses qui estoient offertes, par des Herauts enuoyez, furent par trois diuerses fois chassez, par vn inconuenient qui leur arriua, de ce que le passage du dessus des vignes, n'estoit pas encores assez parfaict: en ce combat Guillaume de Louelac Capitaine des Anglois doüé de grand courage, fut tué d'vn coup de mousquet.' (*Histoire Generale de la Gverre de Flandre*, Gabriel Chappvys, ed. 1633, ii, p. 674.) Contrast the Latin verses in vol. ii, on p. 13, where it is said that he was blown up.

[2] Quoted in *Archæologia Cantiana*. In his will he confirms the indenture he had already made of his 'cattell, plate, utensils, money, and money's worth whatsoever' to Richard, Thomas, and William Lovelace, with the addition that a moiety of the property so conveyed should belong to Elizabeth Lovelace on her attaining the age of eighteen.

[3] The question of the possessions of Richard Lovelace is fully treated of by Mr. A. E. Waite in his article on Lovelace in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1884. He concludes that the poet was a country gentleman possessed of a sufficient, but moderate competence.

[4] Lady Lovelace married, on Jan. 20, 1630, a second husband, Jonathan Brown or Browne of London, Doctor of Laws, whom with her brother

document, a copy of the original, is preserved in the British Museum (Eg. 2553, f. 50 b).

ffrom his Matie to ye Couns^{el} of Suttons Hospitall.

Whereas wee are given to understand that Sr William Lovelace K^{t} after hee had served about thirty yeares in ye warres and was slayne at ye last Seige of Grolle and his fortune most depending upon ye warre left his Lady ritch only in great store of Children And shee most humbly beseeching us, to bestow one of the places in Suttons Hospitall upon one of hir Sonnes. Wee are well pleased to grant hir request. Wherefore our Royall pleasure is y^{t} the Lord Arch Bishopp of Canterbury and other ye Governors of ye said Hospitall doe take order that Thomas Lovelace hir sonne may bee admitted into ye said house in our prime place at ye next eleccon. Given under our hand this day In ye fourth year of our raigne etc.

Mr. A. E. Waite in his memoir on Lovelace in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1884, concluded that this was a mistake for Richard Lovelace. Charterhouse had not been founded 20 years and so the rules would probably be in full force. One of these, signed by Charles I as late as 1627, directs the schoolmaster to 'admit none under the age of ten years and above fourteen, else he should answer to the contrary'. This, Mr. Waite points out, supports his theory, as in 1629 Richard Lovelace would be eleven while his brother Thomas would not be more than six years old. It may also be noticed that on the corner of the King's order is written, 'for one of Sr William Lovelace sonnes', and it seems probable that the order was intended for Richard. It is certain, however, that he did not profit by it as his name is not in the list of Foundation Scholars. The first admission register begins in 1680, though it is probable that there was an earlier one which has since been lost. Before that date the record of Scholars is to be found in the 'Assembly Books' and 'Committee Books' of the Governors—usually it consists of lists of Scholars as nominated by the Governors for admission

Miles Barne, M.A., she constitutes trustee of Richard Lovelace in her will. Browne died in 1644. See *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, vol. i, p. 868.

admission—and lists of Scholars 'elected out' either to the University or as apprentices. The surname of Lovelace does not occur at all, though these 'Committee Books' are very full, there being more than 600 names for the years 1614–80. There is, further, no mention of Lovelace either receiving an Exhibition, going to Oxford without one, or leaving the University while still an Exhibitioner. From this it seems certain that he was not on Sutton's Foundation at Charterhouse, but that he must have been a 'Boarder'.[1] Such boys were usually the sons of people in a higher social position than the parents of the scholars, and it is probable that Lovelace would have been at Charterhouse on this footing. It is possible that though Lady Lovelace found herself 'ritch only in great store of Children' at the time she made her request, the death of her father-in-law in the same year and Richard's inheritance of the property placed them beyond the need of any assistance.

The Headmaster of Charterhouse during Lovelace's time at school was Robert Brooke, a staunch Royalist who was removed from his post by Parliament in 1643. No record of the poet's school-days is known to exist, but it may be noted that he must have been nearly three years at Charterhouse with Richard Crashaw. On leaving school Lovelace went to Oxford, becoming a Gentleman Commoner[2] at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College and formerly Gloucester College, the Benedictine settlement in Oxford from the thirteenth century until the dissolution of the monasteries. The College possesses no record of him to-day, but it may be presumed that he was sent to Gloucester Hall by his stepfather, Dr. Jonathan Browne, a Prebendary of Westminster

[1] It was not at all unusual for Royal nominees to be refused as the number was restricted to two at each election, i.e. in general one a year, and the Royal promises and warrants were practically unrestricted, most of the boys who received them becoming too old before their turn arrived. Several of the Scholars, entered in the Committee Books, even when receiving Royal Warrants, were never admitted. I am indebted to Mr. Bower Marsh for the above information.

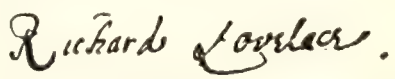
[2] In the first half of the seventeenth century it was usual for a gentleman of good family to go to Oxford as a Fellow Commoner, or, as he was called before the middle of the last century, a Gentleman Commoner.

Westminster, Minister of St. Faiths in London ('from which he was sequestred by the Presbyterians in the time of the rebellion', Wood), Rector of Hertingfordbury and later Dean of Hereford, who was himself a member of the Hall, and presented £5 towards the restoration of the Chapel when he took his Doctor's degree in 1630, making a second gift of the same amount in the same year.[1]

The entry of Lovelace's matriculation is preserved among the University Archives for the year 1634:

Jun: 27° Richũs Louelace: Kant: fil: j^us Gul: Louelace de Woolwich in Cõm p'd Arm: an: nat—16.

His signature in the Book of Subscriptions to the articles of Religion, an oath then required of every undergraduate, is here reproduced.



Another specimen of his signature, which is reproduced below, is to be found on the document containing his petition to be released from the Gatehouse in 1642. There is a third example in the British Museum on a document connected with the sale of land at Halden[2] and another signature at Cambridge. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt stated that his name, with the date March 5, 1630, is written in a small school book, Clenardus' *Institutiones Graecae Linguae*, 1626.

When he went to Oxford Lovelace was 'accounted the most amiable and beautiful person that ever eye beheld', and the poet, whom Wood described as wearing 'Cloth of gold and silver' when he was in his glory, was no doubt one of the fashionable young gentlemen to whom the same writer referred when, comparing the condition of Gloucester Hall in 1678 with its former prosperity, he said, 'I have been credibly enformed that before the warr, in Degory Whear's time, (there) hath been an hundred students (and some being persons of qualitie, 10 or 12 went in their doublets

[1] MS. recording degrees, gifts, etc., now in the Library of Worcester College.

[2] This signature is reproduced in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xxiii, p. 337.

doublets of cloth of silver and gold) : but since the King's restauration to this yeare, I never knew above 14 in number.'[1]

During his first year at the University he wrote a comedy called *The Scholar* or *The Schollars.* This play, which may have first been acted by the undergraduates of Gloucester Hall,[2] was later 'presented at the White-Fryers' and 'acted with applause'. It was never printed, and only the Prologue and Epilogue, written for its presentation in London, were included in *Lucasta.*

Lovelace took his degree in his second or at the beginning of his third year. 'In 1636,' writes Wood, 'when the King and Queen were for some days entertained at *Oxon*, he was, at the request of a great Lady belonging to the Queen, made to the Archb. of *Cant.* then Chancellor of the University, actually created, among other persons of quality, Master of Arts, tho but of about two years standing.' Wood in the first volume of *Athenae Oxonienses*[3] gives a list of the 'Creation in several faculties' which it was his Majesty's pleasure there should be, the twelfth in the list of the Masters of Arts being '*Rich. Lovelace* a Gentleman Commoner of *Gloc.* Hall. . . . Afterwards eminent for his valour and poetry, as I shall tell you either in the next Vol. or elsewhere.' Wood does not give the complete list, but the full account of the King's visit and reception by the University, and the list of all those who were given degrees may be found in the University Archives for 1636.[4] (Register R. 24.)

Lovelace

[1] A. Clark, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (Oxford Historical Society), 1892, vol. ii, p. 398.

[2] In his Autobiography Wood, recording the death in 1660 of John Glendall, a Fellow of Brasenose who 'had been a witty *Terrae filius* of the University in 1655', states: 'He was a great Mimick, and acted well in several Playes, which the Scholars before acted by stealth, either in the Stone house behind and Southward from Pembroke Coll. or in Kettle hall, or at Holywell Mill, or in the Refectory at Glocester hall.' (Hearne's *Thomæ Caii . . . Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis . . .* 1730. ii, p. 533.) The period indicated by 'before' is not clear, but was presumably in Commonwealth times.

[3] pp. 886–9, ed. 1691.

[4] Many of the entries are quaint and interesting and do not seem to have been printed. The town was to be made as presentable as possible during the King's stay. 'For the greater Expedition and more suddain

Lovelace was given his Honorary Degree on Aug. 31, 1636. His name, 'Rich. Lovelas Aul. Glos.', is given in the Archives in the list of forty-five 'Magistri in artibus tempore Adventus Regis'. Many of his companions were men of importance. The first was 'Rupertus Princeps Palatinus' the King's nephew. Others were the Duke of Lennox, afterwards Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Hertford, later Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Essex, 'who in the year 1605 had been created M. of A. was now actually created again', the Earl of Berkshire, the Earl of Elgin, George Lord Digby, and William Lord Craven. In the following year Lovelace was incorporated at Cambridge. His entry in the Book of Subscriptions is '4 Oct 1637 Richardus Lovelace Aul: Gloucestrensis Oxon. Art. mag.' It seems likely that he stayed a few months in Cambridge

dispatch of this business, the Bellman in Mr. Vicechancellor's name is to require all manner of persons to remoue their Blocks and Dirt from before their dores & pitch all such places as are any way faulty and that presently they goe about it', under various pains and penalties of being 'dispriviledged', 'or if he be a Townsman and refuse to performe & submit to these Orders' he shall be 'discommened or otherwise severely punished'.

'That the Scavenger forthwith sett himself on worke in Ridding the streets of dirt Filth, & Rubbidge & all manner of uncleannes that may make Nuisances in the streets: and that this bee done every where within his walke upon perill of the severest punishment to bee inflicted on him by Mr Vicechancellor.'

'An Aduertisement for Heads of Howses to deliuer with great charge unto their Companies' is, perhaps, worth quoting.

'That they admonish all such as are under their charge that they appeare no wheare abroad during the Kings beeing heere without their capps, and such colour and fashion in their Apparell as the Statute prescribeth. And particularly that they beware that they weare not any long-hayre, nor any Bootes, nor double Stockins Rolled downe, or hanging loose about their Legges as the manner of some Slovens is to doe. Nor weare their Gownes hanging loosely with their Capes belowe their shoulders. And whatsoever Graduates or Undergraduates shall offend against this Order shall forfeit to the University toties quoties 10s, or else be imprisoned or otherwise corrected according to the discretion of such of the overseers of manners & behaviour by these delegates appoynted as shall find him faulty.'

Another warning enjoined 'That no Schollars come neare any of the King's offices as his Kitchen or Buttery or any other places about the Court,' and finally, 'If any Man shall offend against any of these Orders he shall (besides the Ordinary Punishments of the Statutes presently to bee inflicted on him) bee entered alsoe into the Black-booke and so kept from his degree.'

Corbet in *Certain Elegant Poems*, 1647, pp. 58–64, has an amusing description of a similar Royal visit to Cambridge.

Cambridge, at any rate long enough to make friends with a group of Cambridge men then in residence, who twelve years later contributed commendatory verses to *Lucasta*, Norreys Jephson, Villiers Harington, and Andrew Marvell. Thomas Hammersley and John Needler wrote some lines for *Lucasta* and were Cambridge men, but Lovelace presumably met them when they were at Gray's Inn, to which they were admitted in 1629 and 1634 respectively. Wood does does not mention this stay at Cambridge, but, as will be seen later, his account of Lovelace is neither exhaustive nor altogether reliable. He says that after leaving the University [Oxford] Lovelace 'retired in great splendour' to the Court, where, owing to his 'innate modesty, virtue and courtly deportment',[1] he was 'much admired and adored by the female sex', while he was endeared to his own by the discovery of his 'ingenuity and generous soul'.

At Court he was 'taken into the favour of *George*, Lord Goring, afterwards Earl of Norwich, was by him adopted a Soldier, and sent in the quality of Ensign in the *Scotch* Expedition *an.* 1639'. Among the names of the officers under the Earl of Northumberland in 1640, 'Taken according to the Muster Roll after the Armies Retreat into Yorkshire', Richard Lovellis appears as senior Ensign in George Goring's regiment.[2] He must soon have been promoted, as Wood says he was 'commissionated a Captain in the same Regiment' in the second expedition.

The first of these inglorious expeditions was ended by the treaty of June 18, 1639, the second by the cessation of arms agreed

[1] Thomas Jordan in *Wit in a Wildernesse of Promiscuous Poesie*, which is undated, but printed after 1649, wrote 'An Apologie for Danceing, Dedicate to all the active Proficients, but more peculiarly unto Mr. R. L.' The lines, which are too long to quote, may be addressed to Lovelace, though it seems probable that Jordan would have called him 'Colonel'. Howell, however, calls him 'Mr.' in 1660. See p. 204.

[2] See *The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers Containing the Names of the Officers in the Royal and Parliamentary Armies of 1642.* Edited by Edward Peacock, 2nd ed., 1874.

Wood has mixed the two Gorings. It was the son of the Earl of Norwich in whose regiment Lovelace served and to whom he addressed his poem, though the elder Goring raised a body of horse for this expedition.

agreed on at Ripon on Oct. 26, 1640, though it was long before the armies were disbanded.[1]

During the second expedition Lovelace 'wrot a Tragedy called *The Soldier*, but never acted, because the stage was soon after suppress'd'.[2] The spirited drinking song *To Generall Goring, after the pacification of Berwicke*, is the only poem by Lovelace which contains a direct reference to the Scottish expeditions. There are two copies of verses, however, which he wrote before going to the North, one prefixed to Anthony Hodges' translation of *The Loves of Clitophon and Levcippe*, the other contributed to *Musarum Oxoniensium Charisteria*, both belonging to the year 1638. The fact that Lovelace should, at the age of twenty, write commendatory verses, one set of which was given the place of honour and the other included after *Charisteria* had already been published,[3] shows that he must even at that age have been known as a 'fair pretender to the Title of Poet'.

On the Scottish expeditions Lovelace would have had the company of Suckling, who is supposed to have addressed him in the first line of his *Ballade Upon a Wedding*, 'I tell thee *Dick* where I have been'. The ballad was written for the occasion of the marriage of a member of Lovelace's family if *An Antidote against Melancholy: Made up in Pills*... 1661, which contains 'Suckling's Ballad on the Ld. L. Wedding', and Harleian MS. 6917, which describes it as 'Upon the Marriage of the Lord Lovelace', are correct. As this wedding took place in London in July, 1638, at a time when Suckling was absent from Court in temporary disgrace, Lovelace must have met him in 1636 or 1637. Some critics, however, state that the 'Ballade' was written for the marriage of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, and Lady Margaret Howard in 1641. It is far more probable that it was not written for any wedding and that its connexion with Richard Lovelace is merely based on an inaccurate guess. *Wits Recreations* has a woodcut which represents 'two Countrey-men', not Suckling and Lovelace, 'Dick'

[1] See Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, ii. 80–93, 107–30.
[2] September 2, 1642. [3] See note p. 27.

'Dick' being merely a rustic, just as Robert Baron, a faithful imitator of many poets, in his *Ballade Vpon the Wedding* makes one of his 'honest Swaines' address the other, 'I tell the *Jack* as I sought out . . .'[1]

After his return from the North Lovelace retired to Kent, and a gentleman of his position would become a Justice of the Peace in the ordinary course of events. It was, no doubt, in the exercise of his duties that he was present in the Session House at Maidstone, where he tore in pieces a disloyal petition in the presence of its makers shortly before he delivered the Kentish Petition to the House of Commons in 1642.

Wood describes the latter event briefly: . . . 'he was made choice of by the whole body of the County of *Kent* at an Assize, to deliver the *Kentish Petition* to the H. of Commons, for the restoring the King to his Rights and for setling the Government, etc. For which piece of service he was committed to the *Gatehouse* at *Westminster*, where he made that celebrated song called *Stone walls do not a prison make*,[2] *etc.* After 3 or 4 months prisonment, he had his liberty upon bayle of 40000 *l* not to stir out of the Lines of Communication, without a pass from the Speaker.'

Clarendon gives a fuller account:

About the same time, at the general assizes in Kent the justices of the peace and principal gentlemen of that county prepared a petition to be presented to the two Houses, with a desire 'that the militia might not be otherwise exercised in that county than the known law permitted, and that the Book

[1] *Pocula Castalia*, 1650, p. 66. Compare also 'A Dialogue betwixt TOM and DICK: the former a Country-man, the other a Citizen.' (*Rump Songs*, ed. 1662, ii, p. 189.)

[2] This is not the only well-known poem which has come from the prison at Westminster, if it is true that the lines attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh,

> Even such is *time* that takes on trust
> Our *youth*, our *Joyes*, our all we have,
> And payes us but with *Age* and *dust*, . . .

were really written by him on Oct. 28, 1618, and found in his Bible in the Gatehouse. (*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1651, p. 538.) If they were so found, Raleigh probably wrote down and added two lines to the last stanza of an earlier poem of his own, 'Nature that wash'd her hands in milk', which was first printed in full by A. H. Bullen from *Harl. MS.* 6917. (*Speculum Amantis*, ed. 1902, pp. 76–7.)

Book of Common Prayer established by law might be observed.' This petition was communicated by many to their friends, and copies thereof sent abroad, before the subscription was ready; whereupon the House of Peers took notice of it as tending to some commotion in Kent; and in the debate the earl of Bristol taking note that he had seen a copy of it, and had had some conference about it with Judge Mallet, who was then judge of assize in Kent, and newly returned out of his circuit, both the earl and judge, for having but seen the petition, were presently committed to the Tower;[1] and a declaration published that 'none should presume to deliver that or the like petition to either House'. Notwithstanding which, some gentlemen of Kent, with a great number of the substantial inhabitants of that county, came to the city; which upon the alarum was put in arms, strong guards placed at London Bridge, where the petitioners were disarmed, and only some few suffered to pass with their petition to Westminster, the rest forced to return to their country [*sic*]. And upon the delivery thereof (though the same was very modest, and in a more dutiful dialect than most petitions delivered to them) to the House of Commons, the bringers of the petition were sharply reprehended, two or three of them committed to several prisons, the principal gentlemen of the country who had subscribed and advised it sent for as delinquents, and charges and articles of impeachment drawn up against them; and a declaration published, 'that whosoever should henceforth advise or contrive the like petitions should be proceeded against as enemies to the commonwealth'. So unlike and different were their tempers, and reception of those modest addresses which were for duty and obedience to the laws established, and those which pressed and brought on alterations and innovations.[2]

Clarendon shows how members of the Long Parliament encouraged petitions so long as they were favourable to themselves, 'most counties in England, or rather, the factious and seditious persons in most counties, having been induced to frame and subscribe petitions to the Parliament against the established

[1] See the title of the printed petition, Appendix ii, and Clarendon's *History*, v. 426.

[2] *History of the Rebellion*, v. 52 ed. Macray, 1888, ii. 28–9. The King himself appears to refer to the event. See Appendix ii, where the full text of the petition is also given.

established government of the Church, with other clauses scandalous to the government of the State too';[1] while they strongly discouraged any others, 'receiving and cherishing all mutinous and seditious petitions, and discountenancing such as besought the continuance and vindication of the so long celebrated and happy government in Church and State; the prime leaders of that faction not blushing in public debates in the House to aver, "that no man ought to petition for the government established by law, because he had already his wish; but they that desired an alteration could not otherwise have their desires known, and therefore were to be countenanced"'.[2] Consequently Lovelace was not favourably received when he arrived with the same petition as that 'contrived by Sir Edward Dering[3] and others' only the month before, which had already been 'burnt by order of both Houses by the Hands of the Common Hangman' and had for some weeks occupied the attention of their Committees.

Lovelace and Sir William Boteler or Butler presented the Kentish Petition on April 30, 1642. Butler had just returned from York, where the King was engaged with the question of the garrison and magazine at Hull and 'Sir John Hotham's Treasonable insolencie', and 'by the earnest solicitation of the Gentry of *Kent*, ingaged to joyne with them in presenting the most honest and famous Petition of theirs to the House of Commons'.[4] A large meeting was to assemble at Blackheath at 9 o'clock on the 29th to accompany the petition to Parliament, a fact of which the Commons acquainted the Lords on the 28th.

The entry in the *Lords Journals* runs:

28th April. A Message was brought from the House of Commons, by *Oliver Cromwell*, Esquire and others:

To desire that their Lordships would please to sit a while, because they shall have some important Business concerning *Kent* to impart to their Lordships.

The Answer returned to this Message was:

That their Lordships will sit a while, as desired.

[1] *History of the Rebellion*, iii. 169. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 340.
[3] See note to Appendix ii.
[4] Bruno Ryves, *Angliae Ruina, or Englands Ruine*, 1647, p. 7.

A message was brought from the House of Commons, by Sir *Henry Vane*, Junior, and others:

To desire a Conference, by a Committee of both Houses, presently, if it may stand with their Lordships Conveniency, touching some Informations they have received concerning some Proceedings in the *Kentish* Petition, much importing the Safety of the Kingdom.

The Answer returned to this Message was:

That their Lordships will give a Conference presently, in the Painted Chamber.

Then this House was adjourned during Pleasure, and the Lords went to the Conference; which being ended, the House was resumed.

The Lord Keeper reported the Effect of this Conference: 'That the House of Commons have received Information of a Meeting to be To-morrow at *Blackeheath*, whither divers People intend to come in Numbers, with their rejected Petition of *Kente*; and there are Reports given out that they threaten to shed Blood. The House of Commons, taking this into Consideration, for preventing of Mischief as may happen, desires their Lordships to join with them, that Directions from both Houses may be given to those that have charge of the Militia of *London*, that none be suffered to come in Numbers into the City of *London* To-morrow, with Arms or Weapons.[1]

ORDERED, That this House agrees with the House of Commons in the Matter of this last Conference.

Two days earlier, when presenting to the Lords the articles of impeachment by the Commons against Dering,[2] the Lord Keeper mentioned that Dering 'sticks not to affirm, that he can have Forty Thousand Persons to attend the Petition, proclaims a Meeting at *Blackheath* (a fatal and ominous

[1] The same facts may be gathered from the *Commons Journals* (pp. 545–6) which add that Pym and Holles managed the conference for the Commons. 'And to desire, that an Order of both Houses may be sent to Serjeant-major Skippon, and the Committee for the Militia of London, requiring them to have an Eye, and a Care, to prevent all Inconveniences that may ensue, by the tumultuous and disorderly gathering together of any Multitudes, to the Disturbance of the publick Peace.'

[2] Resolved on April 18th, voted on 19th and sent to the Lords on the 21st. On the 21st the Lords desired a conference concerning the Kentish Petition. 'That it is yet, by the malignant and ill-affected Party, with great, though secret Industry, carried on; and not only in that County, but in some others of this Kingdom: . . . ' (p. 536.)

ominous Place for Actions of this Nature); and all this under Colour of a Petition, being in Truth a Challenge, an Objurgation, a Scandal upon the Parliament, and purporting nothing else but a desperate Design, to put not only *Kent*, but for aught is known, all Christendom into Combustion; carrying the Sails full swoln with Spight, Arrogancy, and Sedition; . . .'

A contemporary pamphlet of four leaves purports to describe the meeting at Blackheath. The full title is *Strange Newes from Kent. Concerning The Passages of the Kentish men which came to Westminster, April 29. about some great and weighty Affairs, concerning their own County, and the whole Kingdome. With many other Matters of great Note, and high Consequence, which this following Treatise makes mention of. Also the Names of two Kentish Men, who were committed,* April *30. 1642. Likewise the Names of the Committee, who are appointed for the Irish affairs, and the places where they live. Whereunto is annexed more sad News from* Hul, *concerning a great Disturbance which hapned there,* April *28. MDCXLII. Printed for* Richard Cooper, *1642.*

The
Names of two of the Kentish Petitioners
who were committed to custody, *April* 30.
Sir *William Lovelace*, and Captain
Butler.

It was observed by divers at the Royall Exchange, that as Captain *Butler* and the rest passed by, his horse stumbled in a very fair plain place, so that he fell over his horse neck, And divers of the spectators by, one of them said to the rest, take notice of this man, this is an omnious thing; mark what will betide him.

And on the 29. of Aprell. 1642. a Cording to ther apointment thay Came from Blakeheath a bout the number of 14 score marching 2 in a ranke and when thay came in the Boro the Chane was dran our whart the Bredg and Captene Bunch. with his Cumpnie, at the Bredg fot and demanded of them ther intent, and the 2 foremast told them that thay came to delivre ther petsiou to the Parlemeut and there petsione was red and Captene Bunch asked them why thay

thay came armed and thay told him thay had no harmes but the armes of Gentlmen and deliured there Sordes there.[1] . . .

Strange News from Black-Heath.

Vpon the 29 of April 1642. two men of great estimation in the County of Kent, about 5 of the clock in themorning met at the said place, one of them by name Mr. *Samuel Gray*; the other Mr. *Nicholas Robinson*: And falling into Discourse of the Affairs of the said County of KENT, amongst other passages, they spake of some great Mutituds that were to meet at the said Black-Heath in the County of Kent, on that present day about 9 of the clock. But to what intent this meeting should be, is now brought to light.[2]

They had divers others such like consultationss concerning some Particular matters of high consepuence. in the said petition. And concerning a speedy remedy, that might be taken, for the further reliefe of our distressed brethren in Ireland, and for all other such like necessities, as may be for the good and benefit of the whole Kingdom.

According

[1] The difference in spelling between this part of the pamphlet and the remainder is curious. It would seem to have been set up by a different compositor and it is interesting to notice, as Mr. C. T. Onions has pointed out to me, that two words at least show by the spelling traces of the East Anglian dialect which has features in common with Kent; 'Bredg' for 'Bridg(e)'—a pronunciation still common in Suffolk—and 'our whart'= 'overthwart'. The compositor must himself have been a Kentishman or have set up from dictation the pronunciation of a native of that county. Spellings like 'petsiou' and 'petsione' seem to be attempts to cope with an unfamiliar word. Mr. Waite first drew attention to the pamphlet.

[2] This part of the pamphlet is clearly borrowed from another, of w' ich there is a copy in the British Museum [E. 144 (13)]: *Newes from Black-Heath Concerning The meeting of the Kentish men upon the nine and twentieth of Aprill, about some great and weighty Affairs, now in Agitation. With many other Passages worthy of Note and Observation. . . . London: Printed for Henrie Andrews.* 1642.

Newes from Black-Heath.

Upon *Munday* last, being the 18. day of *April*, 1642. two men of great estimation, in the County of *Kent*, one of them by Name, Mr. *Samuel Gray*; the other M. *Nicholas Robinson*: meeting at *Black-Heath*, falling into Discourse of the affairs of the said County of KENT, amongst other passages, they spake of some great Multitudes that were to meet at the said *Black-Heath* in the County of *Kent*, on the 29. Day of *April*, about 9. of the clock in the morning, next ensuing, about 9 of the clock at the furthest.

But to what intent this meeting should be is not as yet known. It was supposed by them, concerning a Petition of theirs, which is to be accompanied by them to the honourable House of Parliament, there to be delivered. . . . (Sig. A2.)

According to a communication from Secretary Nicholas to Sir Thomas Roe, Parliament avoided receiving the petition on the 29th by rising.

Also the Petition of Kent was on the 29th past brought to London by about 500 gentlemen of that county, as we hear, but the House, having showed former dislike against it, rose; and so they were frustrate till the following day, when, having delivered it, they returned to their homes, leaving Sir William Boteler and Captain Lovelace behind, whom the House restrained.[1]

The actual proceedings in the House itself when Lovelace and Boteler arrived with the petition may be gathered from the entries in the *Commons Journals.*

Sabbati, ultimo Aprilis, 1642.

The House being informed, That divers Gentlemen of the County of *Kent* were at the Door, that desired to present a Petition to the House;

They were called in; presented their Petition;

And then withdrew.

And their Petition was read, and appeared to be that the same that was formerly burnt by order of both Houses by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

Captain *Leigh* reports, That being at the Quarter Sessions held at *Maidston*, he observed certain Passages, which he delivered in Writing.

Captain *Lovelace*, who preferred the Petition, was called in: And Mr Speaker was commanded to ask him, From whose Hand he had this Petition; and who gave him Warrant to present it.

'Mr *Geo Chute*[2] delivered him the Petition the next day after the Assizes.'——

'The Gentlemen, that were assembled at *Black-heath*, commanded him to deliver it'.——

Whether he knew that the like was burnt by Order of this House; and that some Gentlemen were here questioned for the Business.

'He understood a general Rumour, That some Gentlemen were questioned.'——

'He

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (*Domestic*), Charles I, 1641–3, p. 316.

[2] Dudley Lovelace was later an officer under George Chute. See note to p. 13.

'He had heard a Fortnight since, that the like Petition was burnt by the Hand of the Common Hangman.'——

'He knew nothing of the Bundle of Printed Petitions.'——

He likewise said, 'That there was a Petition at the Quarter Sessions, disavowed by all the Justices there, which he tore.'

Sir *Wm Boteler* was likewise called in; asked, When he was at *Yorke.*

Answered, 'On *Wednesday* last was Sevennight he came from *Yorke*, and came to his House in *London*'——

'He heard of a Petition, that was never delivered'——

'He never heard of any Censure of the Parliament.'——

'He heard that a Paper was burnt for being irregularly burnt'—— (? presented)

'He has heard that the Petition that went under the Name of the *Kentish* Petition, was burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.'

'He never heard of any Order of either, of both, the Houses concerning * *'

'He was at *Hull* on *Thursday* or *Friday* was a Sevennight: As he came from *Yorke*, he took *Hull* in the Way. He has heard, That Sir *Roger Twisden* was questioned for the like Petition.'

'He was yesterday at *Blackheath.*'

Resolved, upon * * That Captain *Lovelace* shall be presently committed Prisoner to the *Gatehouse.*

Resolved, upon the Question, That Sir *Wm Boteler*, shall be presently committed Prisoner to the *Fleet.*

Ordered, That the Serjeant shall apprehend them, and carry them in safe Custody, and deliver them as Prisoners to the several Prisons aforesaid.

. . . . . .

The Serjeant was commanded to require the Gentlemen that preferred the *Kentish* Petition, to attend, till the House came down from the Conference.

. . . . . .

The Gentlemen of *Kent* that presented the Petition, were called in: And Mr Speaker, by the Command of the House, told them, 'That the House has considered of the Petition that you presented. And they know you cannot be ignorant, what Opinion both Houses have formerly expressed of the same Petition: Yet, considering that you are young Gentlemen, misled by the Sollicitation of some not affected to the Peace of the Kingdom; and that, however they intend to proceed against the chief Agents and prime Actors in this Business;

Business; yet they are willing, that you should be dismissed; hoping that you may hereafter prove good Members of the Commonwealth.'

The *Lords Journals* continue on the same day:

A message was brought from the House of Commons, by Sir *John Evelyn*, Knight, and others:

To inform their Lordships, that, notwithstanding the Dislike both Houses took to the Petition of *Kent*, yet this day some have presumed to exhibit that Petition to the House of Commons, for which the House of Commons have committed Sir *William Butler* to *The Fleet*, and Captain *Lovelace* to *The Gatehouse*; and the House of Commons desires their Lordships, that the former select Committee for the Petition of *Kent* may be appointed to meet, and receive further Information herein, and examine the said Sir *William Butler* and Captain *Lovelace*, and such Witnesses as shall be produced, concerning that Business. . . .

ORDERED, That this House agrees with the House of Commons, for the Examination of Sir *William Butler* and Captain *Lovelace* as they have desired.

Sir Symons D'Ewes in his MS. Diary, Saturday, April 30, gives another account of the two Petitioners being sent to prison, as well as a fuller history of the 'certain Passages' at the Quarter Sessions at Maidstone, and the petition which Lovelace acknowledged he tore. (Harl. MS. 163, fo. 99.)

Notice being given that divers of the Kentish gentlemen were at the doore with their petition although we knewe it to bee the same for which Sr Edward Deering had been questioned yet wee admitted them in one Captaine Louelace delivered it and they being withdrawne it was read after which there ensued much debate what answer should bee given them during the debate one Captaine Lee a member of the howse and a Justice of peace for Kent showed that at the late quarter Sessions at Maidstone halfe of the whole bench of Justices there had openly disclaimed the former Kentish petition contrived by Sr Edward Deering and others and had prepared another petition for the Parliament the said Captaine Louelace and some others came into the said place and after the said Justices and all the rest of the company who were mett there excepting but one man had given their [mark for votes] for the disclaiming of the said former petition, and

and in a furious manner cried Noe Noe Noe and then with great contempt of the Court clapped on their hatts and said they heard that there was a new petition intended to be preferred to the Parliament of which they had a copy and found many falsities therein and so lifting it over his head rent it in peeces and said they were ashamed of it and committed also diuers others insolencyes there which the said Captaine Lee read out of a paper and then delivered it to the Clarke. After divers had spoken the said Captaine Louelace was called in and the Speaker asked him diuers questions and particularly touching the said former Kentish petition and his carriage at the late Sessions in both which hee did acknowledge enough against himselfe. then was one Sr William Boteler called in being a gentleman pensioner to his Mat^ie^ and lately come from Yorke who was supposed to haue gone to blacke heath and to have encouraged the said Kentish men to the delivery of the said petition who was likewise examined and did confes his late coming from Yorke that hee had been at Hull on friday last soe hee being withdrawn it was resolved upon the Question first that Captaine Louelace should bee sent to the Gatehowse and next that Sr William Butler should be sent prisoner to the Fleete wch was done accordinglie.

The *Commons Journals* continue:

Die Mercurii, 4° *Maii*, 1642.

Ordered, that Mr *Whittlock*, Mr *Prideaux*, Mr *Crue*, and Mr *Nichollas*, do prepare a Charge, with all Expedition, against Mr *Lovelace* and Sir *Wm Butler*; and that they be added to the former Committee.

Die Jovis, 12° *Maii*, 1642.

The humble Petition of Sir *Wm Boteler* Knight, a Prisoner in the *Fleete*, upon Order of this House, was this Day read.

And the Question being put for his Bail;

It passed with the Negative.

Ordered, that the Charge against Mr *Lovelace* and Sir *Wm Boteler*, Prisoners in the *Fleete* and the *Gatehouse*, be brought in on *Monday* Morning next: And that Mr *Peard* do take particular Care of these Charges.

Die Veneris, 17° *Junii*, 1642.

The humble Petition of Sir *William Boteler*, Prisoner in the *Fleete*, desiring that he may be at Liberty upon Bail, was this Day read: And it is

Resolved

Resolved, upon the Question, That Sir *Wm Boteler*, be forthwith bailed, upon the Security of Sir *Jo. Mounson*, and Sir *Peter Richaut*, the Principal in the Sum of Ten thousand Pounds, the Security, in Five thousand Pounds apiece.[1]

Ordered, That the Impeachment against Sir *Wm Boteler* be brought on *Monday* Morning.

. . . . . .

The humble petition of *Richard Lovelace* Esquire, a Prisoner in the *Gatehouse*, by a former Order of this House, was this Day read: And

It is *Ordered*, upon the Question, That he be forthwith bailed, upon good Security.

Die Sabbati, 18° *Junii*, 1642.

Resolved, &c. That this House doth approve of Mr *Jo. Bedle*, to be Bail for Sir *Wm. Boteler*, instead of Sir *Peter Riccautt.*

Die Martis, 21° *Junii*, 1642.

Resolved, &c. That this House doth approve of *William Clarke*, Esquire, of *Rootham* in *Kent*, and *Tho. Flood*[2] Esquire of *Otton* in *Kent*, to be bail for Captain *Lovelace*; Ten thousand Pounds the Principal; Five thousand Pounds apiece the Sureties.

Sir Symons D'Ewes also refers to these events.[3] He records under June 17 that, 'Mr Bainton [M P for Devizes] deliuered in the petition of Captaine Lovelace in wch hee desir'd to be bailed having formerlie deliuered in the dangerous Kentish petition, wch saied petition being full of submission hee was bailed accordinglie without anie debate.' He records on the same day (fo. 187 b), 'Mr Bainton deliuered in the names of the baile offered by Captaine Louelace

[1] The same sum was fixed in the case of Sir Roger Twisden and Richard Spencer, two of those who originally contrived the Kentish Petition at Maidstone. (*Commons Journals*, vol. ii, p. 520.)

[2] Thomas Flood or Fludd was of Gore Court in Otham; William Clarke, afterwards knighted, was of Ford in Wrotham, and fell in the skirmish at Cropredy Bridge. See *Archaologia Cantiana*, vol. xx.

[3] Harl. MS. 163, fo. 183 b. Printed in *Notes and Queries* by Mr. John Eglington Bailey in 1876. D'Ewes records that Edmund Waller, 'one of those who came vpp wth the Kentish petition wch Captaine Lovelace deliuered in', presented Butler's petition to the House.

Louelace in wch the first was allowed, on Sr Denner Strut (of Little Worley Hall in Essex Esquire created March 5. 1641·2) the latter being latelie created a baronet, was disallowed because none in the house knew him.' On June 21 he writes, '3 of the clocke in the afternoon. . . . Upon Mr Bainton's motion Captaine Lovelace baile accepted.'

These extracts from the *Commons Journals* dispose of the difficulty of believing the enormous figure, £40,000, which Wood states to have been Lovelace's bail. Lovelace and Butler were to be released on finding security for £40,000 between them. Whether either of them paid, or was ever called on to pay anything, is another question. As Lovelace's income, according to Aubrey and Wood, was about £500 a year mostly derived from land, he probably did not. There is one other brief account of the presentation of the Kentish Petition which may be quoted from the *Verney Papers*.[1]

Satterday, 30th Aprill, 1642.
The Kentish Petition.

Sir Edward Deering, and some other magistrates of Kent, procured a petition to be signed in which the validity of the ordinance respecting the militia was called in question. For this offence Sir Edward, sir George Strode, and Mr Spencer were impeached. The persons named in the following note had the folly to present the petition after the house had determined to impeach its framers, and had ordered the petition to be burnt by the hangman. (Journ. ii. 549.)

Captaine Lovelace comitted to the gatehouse[a] } concerning Deer-
Sir William Butler committed to the Fleete } ings petition.

[a] Captain Lovelace was released on bail the 21st June, 1642. (Journ. ii. 635.)

Lovelace's petition to the House of Commons is preserved to-day among the Historical Manuscripts in the House of Lords in his own handwriting.[2]

To

[1] Camden Society, 1845 (R. Ac. 8113/31), p. 175.

[2] This petition was printed in *Notes and Queries* by Mr. John Eglington Bailey in August, 1876, and again in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1884, pp. 468–9.

To the Honourable the House of Commons.

Sheweth The humble petition of Richard Louclace Esq.

That your petitioner beinge verie sensible of the displeasure of this Great Assemblie, the sadde effect whereof he hath alreadie felt almost these seven-weakes by his imprisonment within the Gate-house, expectinge patientlie wth farther purpose; in all humilitie doth offer to your wise considerations, that your petitioner beinge confined here in this Springe-tide of Action, when open Rebellion treads on the late peacefull bosome of his Maiesties Kingdome of Ireland, is to his farther Greefe disabled from dischardinge parte of that duetie, which he owes unto his Kinge and Countrie by his service there; to which he longe since had a resolution not onelie to devote himselfe, but to imploy such summes of monie as lateliie he sett out and destined to the same intent.

He therefore humblie prayes that in your wonted Clemencie you would be pleased to make a favourable milde construction of his actions, from whence he may receive your gentle thoughts, and by your gratious Order be admitted to his former Libertie, or if your well-knowne Wisdomes shall conceive this Course more fitt, to be allowed but a conditionall freedome, & for the certaintie of his attendance on your future pleasures, he will humblie offer the engagement of some able friends as a sufficient bayle, and hee shall ever pray that a moste happie ende may close up all your labours and Indeavours.

RICH: LOUCLACE.

HOUSE OF LORDS

To the Honourable the House of Commons.
The humble petition of Richard Louelace Esqr.

Sheweth

That your petitioner beeinge verie sensible of the displeasure of this Great Assemblie, the sadde effect whereof he hath allreadie felt allmost these seu'n-weekes by his inprisonment within the Gate-house, expectinge patientlie y^r farther purpose; in all humilitie doth offer to your wise considerations, that your petitioner beeinge confined here in this Springe-tide of Action, when open Rebellion treads on the late peacefull bosome of his Maiesties Kingdome of Ireland, is to his farther Greefe disabled from discharginge parte of that duetie, which he owes unto his Kinge and Countrie by his service there; to which he longe since had a resolution not onelie to devote himselfe, but to imploy such summes of monie as latelie he sett out and destin'd to the same intent. Hee therefore humblie prayes that in your wonted Clemencie you would be pleas'd to make a favourable, milde construction of his actions, from whence he may receiue your gentle thoughts, and by your gratious Order be admitted to his former Libertie, or if your well-knowne Wisdomes shall conceiue this Course more fitt; to be allow'd but a conditionall freedome, & for the certaintie of his attendance on your future pleasures he will humblie offer the ingagement of some able friends as a sufficient bayle, and hee shall euer pray that a moste happie ende may close up all your labours and Indeauors.

Rich: Lovelace.

An interesting comparison might be made between this document and John Cleveland's petition *To His Higness The Lord Protector*, written a few years later. Cleveland laboured under the disadvantage of not having any fortune which he could offer as security for bail, for, as he said, 'none stand committed whose estate can bail them'. His petition is remarkable for its manly and sensible appeal to his old enemy Cromwell.

For the service of his *Majesty* (if it be objected) I am so far from excusing it, that I am ready to alledge it in my vindication: I cannot conceive that my fidelity to my Prince should taint me in your opinion; I should rather expect it should

should recommend me to your favour; Had not we been faithfull to our *King*, we could not have given our selves to be so to your *Highness*; you had then trusted us *gratis*, whereas now we have our former Loyalty to vouch us.[1]

Parliament granted the second part of Lovelace's petition. His desire of serving where 'open Rebellion treads on the late peacefull bosome of his Maiesties Kingdome of Ireland' would be sufficient to ensure a refusal of the first part. The Civil War was on the point of breaking out and the King had recently offered to go to Ireland in person. Clarendon states that neither before nor after did Parliament ever receive any message from the King which more discomposed them than this. Parliament, no less than the King, wished to control the army serving against the Irish rebels. Though Butler first petitioned some weeks before Lovelace did so, they were finally released within a few days of each other. Butler was killed two years later at Cropredy Bridge, after experiencing considerable ill-treatment and a second imprisonment in the Gatehouse from which he escaped.[2]

Lovelace was released in June, 1642, and possibly stayed a few months in London. 'During this time of confinement to *London*', says Wood, 'he lived beyond the income of his Estate, either to keep up the credit and reputation of the Kings Cause by furnishing men with Horse and Arms, or by relieving ingenious men in want, whether Scholars, Musitians, Soldiers *etc.* Also by furnishing his two brothers Colonel *Franc. Lovelace* and Capt. *Will. Lovelace* (afterwards slain at *Caermarthen*) with men and money for the Kings Cause, and his other brother called *Dudley Posthumus Lovelace* with moneys for his maintenance in *Holland* to study Tacticks and Fortification in that school of War.' Wood probably knew nothing at all about Lovelace himself, his information being derived from Aubrey and other untrustworthy sources. He makes no mention of Lovelace having been abroad at

[1] *Poems by J. C.*, 1657.

[2] See the *Commons Journals*; Clarendon's *History*, viii. 66; Sandyes' *A perfect Diurnall of the severall passages in our late journey into Kent*, and Bruno Ryves, *Angliae Ruina*, 1647, pp. 6–14.

at any date before 1646; indeed he conveys the impression that he stayed in London till after the 'rendition of the *Oxford* Garrison', that he then formed a Regiment for the Service of the French King, became Colonel of this regiment, was wounded at Dunkirk, and returned again to England. This is inaccurate. Lovelace certainly spent a part and probably the greater part of the years 1643–6 in Holland and France. He may have assisted the King and supported his brothers while he was abroad, but he did not stay long enough in London to exercise the universal philanthropy attributed to him by Wood. One 'ingenious man', however, Henry Glapthorne the poet and dramatist, had already received assistance from Lovelace as he acknowledges in the Dedication to *White-Hall. A Poem. Written 1642. With Elegies . . . 1643*.

To my noble Friend and Gossip, Captaine *Richard Lovelace.*

Sir,

I have so long beene in your debt, that I was almost desperate in my selfe of making you paiment, till this fancy by ravishing from you a new Courtesie in its patronage, promised me it would satisfie part of my former engagements to you. Wonder not to see it invade you thus, on the sudden: Gratitude is aeriall, and like that Element nimble in its motion and performance; though I would not have this of mine of a French disposition, to charge hotly and retreat unfortunately: there may appeare something in this, that may maintain the field courageously against Envy, nay come off with honour; if you, Sir, please to rest satisfied, that it marches under your Ensignes, which are the desires of

Your true honourer

Hen. Glapthorne.

His exact movements are uncertain, but Lovelace probably went to Holland in September, 1642, in the train of his old commander Goring, who visited the Low Countries after the surrender of Portsmouth to recruit among the English troops in the Dutch service.[1] It was probably on this occasion that he

[1] That Lovelace was not himself in the Dutch military service at any time seems certain from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the

he wrote *To Lucasta, Going beyond the Seas.* From the fact that his signature occurs on a legal document,[1] a delivery of seisin to Richard Hulse of land in Halden and a wood in Bethersden, to which he set his hand and seal on the 20th of March in the nineteenth year of the reign of Charles I, i. e. March 1643/4, and that he signed another document relating to the purchase of some property at Smarden on August 4, 1645,[2] it would seem that Lovelace returned at least twice to England, but there is no doubt that he spent some time in Holland, and that he was in that country before 1646.

> Holland and France have known his nobler parts,
> And found him excellent in Arms, and Arts.

wrote Samuel Holland in his elegy on Lovelace. Lovelace's own poems in *Lucasta* also bear evidence to the fact that he met Princess Luisa of Bohemia, a friend of Goring, probably at the Hague,[3] and that he was at Rotterdam,[4] before his second imprisonment in 1648. The poem *Peinture. A Panegyrick to the best Picture of Friendship Mr. Pet. Lilly*, printed in 1659, suggests further that Lovelace stayed long enough in Holland to acquire the language, as he not only refers to Karel Van Mander but also quotes an anecdote from that writer's account of Holbein.[5] It is certain that he was there before September, 1645, as the first stanza of the following poem by John Tatham was set to music by William Lawes who was killed at the siege of Chester in that month.[6]

Vpon

Registers of officers and subaltern officers from 1642 to 1657 in the Dutch Archives at The Hague. His father's name, however, is found in 1621. I am indebted to the Chief of the First Section for this information.

[1] Now in the British Museum. Add. Ch. 47354. See p. l. The appointment of a certain Isaac Hunte as attorney in Lovelace's absence is significant.

[2] *Archæologia Cantiana*, x, p. 211.

[3] See p. 25. [4] See p. 72.

[5] See note to p. 166. It is possible, however, that Lovelace was again in Holland between 1649 and 1656.

[6] *Ostella: Or the Faction of Love and Beauty Reconcil'd.* . . . 1650, pp. 82–3. The stanza was set to music by William Lawes under the title of 'Venus *to her* Adonis', and was printed in *Select Ayres and Dialogues For One, Two, and Three Voyces; To the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol.* . . . 1659, p. 37.

Vpon my Noble friend, Richard Lovelace
Esquire, his being in Holland.
An Invitation.
A Song.

Come A*donis*, come again,
what distast could drive thee hence,
Where so much *delight* did reign,
sateing ev'n the *soul* of *sense*?
And though thou *unkind* hast prov'd,
never *Youth was* more belov'd.
Then lov'd A*donis* come away,
For *Venus* brooks not thy delay.

Wert thou sated with the S*poil*
of so many *Virgins* H*earts*,
And therefore didst *change* thy Soil,
to seek *fresh* in other parts:
D*angers* wait on *forreigne Game*,
we have D*eer* more *sound* and *tame*.
Then lov'd A*donis*, &c.

P*hillis*, fed with thy *delights*,
in thy *absence pines* away;
And L*ove* too hath lost his Rites:
not one L*asse* keeps H*oli-day*.
They have chang'd their *Mirth* for *Cares*,
and do onely *sigh* thy A*irs*.
Then lov'd *Adonis*, &c.

Elpine, in whose Sager Looks
thou wert wont to *take* D*elight*,
Hath forsook his D*rink* and *Books*,
'cause he cann't enjoy thy sight.
He hath laid his L*earning* by,
'cause his *Wit* wants *Company*.
Then lov'd A*donis* come away,
For F*riendship* brooks not thy D*elay*.

All the S*wains* that one did use
to converse with *Love* and *thee*,
In the *language* of thy *Muse*,
have forgot L*oves* D*eity*:
They deny to *write* a line,
and do onely talk of *thine*.
Then lov'd A*donis* come away,
For F*riendship* brooks not thy D*elay*.

By

By thy sweet *Althea's* voice
  we conjure thee to return;
Or we'l rob thee of that *choice*
  in whose *Flames* each Heart would *burn*:
That inspir'd by *her* and *sack*,
  such Company we will not lack.
    That *Poets* in the *Age* to come,
    Shall write of our *Elizium*.

These lines are particularly interesting as showing that about 1644 Lovelace was known as the poet of 'Althea' and not of 'Lucasta'. The poem *To Althea, From Prison* is, so far as we know, the only one he addressed to 'Althea', consequently these verses by Tatham give some evidence of the popularity of this fine song before it was printed in 1649. It is clear then that Lovelace was in Holland before September, 1645. According to Wood he was present at the siege of Dunkirk in the following year, but before discussing that and Wood's story of his relations with Lucasta, it must be noticed that a Colonel Lovelace was in command at Carmarthen in 1644.

Mercurius Aulicus, 29th week, writes under the date Thursday, July 18, 1644:

This done, he [i. e. 'that valiant brave Gentleman Colonell Charles Gerard, Generall of His Majesties Forces in those parts';] advanced into Carmarthenshire, and tooke Kidwellye, a strong Haven towne, where he left a good Garrison; and then fell on the Towne and Castle of Carmarthen, which he presently mastered, and there he placed another good Garrison under Colonel Lovelace, and left a Garrison also at Abermalas . . . .

This passage is quoted in J. R. Phillips's *Civil War in Wales*, 1874 (vol. i, p. 232), which also shows that Colonel Lovelace was still at Carmarthen when the town was taken in Oct. 1645, by the Parliamentary forces under Laugharne or Langhorne.[1]

Major-General Stradling and Colonel Lovelace, the Govenor, were dismissed, and that night they departed the town with their soldiers . . .

On

[1] Phillips (vol. ii, p. 273) quotes the whole of a letter from Laugharne to Lenthall dated from Carmarthen, Oct. 12, 1645. Another letter from Langhorne to the Speaker is quoted in the note to p. 2.

On the 2nd of November Public Thanksgiving was given for the capture of Camarthen. The few horse under Lovelace and Stradling went to Newcastle-Emlyn, which remained in the hands of the Royalists, and strengthened the garrison there (p. 337).

It is probable that this Colonel Lovelace was Francis, the poet's brother, and that William Lovelace was killed or died when under his command.[1] Mr. Seccombe, in his article on Lovelace in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, calls attention to the fact that a certain 'Thomas Willys, a clerk of the crown in chancery, was taken prisoner by a Captain Lovelace, presumably the poet', in 1645. *The Historical MSS. Commission, 6th Report, App.*, p. 107, under March 21, 1646, prints the following:

Petition of Thomas Willys. For two years and a half petitioner attended the House as Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, losing all profits for a year because of the carrying away of the Great Seal. In August last, having sold his plate, and having no further means of subsistence, he obtained leave to go to his house in Hampshire to see if he could raise means to support himself and his family, but he was made prisoner by Captain Lovelace, and many of his horses and goods taken: for redress of this, and to save the rest of his goods, he was constrained to go to Oxford, and when there was forbidden to depart without leave; in his absence Mr. Bolls, a clerk, left by petitioner as his deputy, has been sworn in his place, in favour of petitioner as he conceives, till he should return to execute it himself; petitioner having got out of Oxford has voluntarily come in, and in his absence has been ready to do all service for the friends of Parliament. Prays to be restored to his office. (*L. J.*, viii. 225.)[2]

It is possible that Richard Lovelace was in England in August, 1645, but he would probably by then have been promoted to the rank of Colonel, and this Captain Lovelace is more likely to have been his youngest brother Dudley. The Latin

[1] See the poem 'To his Deare Brother Colonel F. L. immoderately mourning my Brothers untimely Death at Carmarthen', p. 78.

[2] The Lords appointed a Committee to consider the matter and report.

Latin lines contributed by Harmar to *Lucasta*, 1649, seem to point to the fact that Lovelace was about this time serving in the French army against the Spaniards, before he served under d'Enghien at Dunkirk.

> Gnaviter Hesperios compressit Marte cachinnos,
> Devictasque dedit Cantaber ipse manus.
> Non evitavit validos Dunkerka lacertos,
> Non intercludens alta Lacuna vias.

Dunkirk fell on Oct. 11, 1646, the siege having begun on Sept. 29, and during that winter or in the following year Lovelace returned to England. Wood mentions his being wounded during the siege of Dunkirk, and goes on to tell of his second imprisonment and the publication of *Lucasta*. 'The reason', says Wood, 'why he gave that title was, because, some time before, he had made his amours to a Gentlewoman of great beauty and fortune named *Lucy Sacheverel*, whom he usually called *Lux casta*; but she upon a strong report that *Lovelace* was dead of his wound received at Dunkirk, soon after married.'

Much conjecture has been expended on the identity of Lucasta, but no satisfactory explanation has yet been given.

'Many of the Writers I have consulted', wrote Joseph Hunter in *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum. Collections concerning the Poets and Verse-Writers of the English Nation*, 1843,[1] 'inform us who the Lucy Sacheverel was who is the Lu-casta of Lovelace. But I seem to recollect having read in that immense depository, The Gentleman's Magazine, a disquisition on the subject, issuing in a very satisfactory determination.—I suppose she was issue of the marriage of Ferdinando Sacheverel with Lucy daughter of Sir Henry Hastings of Newark near Leicester. This Ferdinando was aged 20, in 1619, and was an illegitimate son of Henry Sacheverel of Morley in Derbyshire and of Newhall in Warwickshire. This Henry died in 1620 and by his wife a daughter of Sir Humphrey Bradborn had Jacinth Sacheverel aged 40 in 1619 who carried on the line. (See his Mon. Ins. Le Neve 1656. p. 47.)[2] The mother of Ferdinando is described as "Mrs Keigs",

[1] Add. MS. 24,488, vol. ii, p. 201.

[2] The date 1656 in Hunter's marginal note refers to the monument not to the book. The reference is to p. 47 of John Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana* (1650–1679), 1718, where the following epitaph is printed.

Richard Lovelace

Engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar

Lucasta

Engraved by W. Hollar after Samuel Cooper

Keigs", or "Kayes", "Concubine" to Henry. There was another son named Valence, who was 15 in 1619. This I have from Harl. 1167. f. 160[b].

'As Ferdinando married so well the probability is that he was well provided for: and no doubt some account of his residence and issue is somewhere to be found without having recourse to the troublesome search of Wills. One would like to know who was the happy man that became master of so much beauty sense and affection.'

This theory as to the identity of Lucasta cannot be accepted. Francis Lovelace's verses contributed to the 1649 volume are in themselves sufficient to cast doubts on it, Richard's own lines *To Lucasta. Ode Lyrick* (p. 50) confirm these doubts, and Lucasta, who was acquainted with the

In Morley *Church in* Derbyshire *At the East End of the North Ile stands a very fair Monument of Alabaster, with the Portraitures of* Jacinth Sacheverell *Esq; and of* Elizabeth *his Wife lying thereon; and this Epitaph.*

D. O. M. P. S.

Hic jacent corpora, non item spes JACINTHI SACHEVERELL de *Morley* in Com. *Derb.* Armigeri; et ELIZABETHÆ, tam in morte, quàm in vitâ sociae: quam quidem ELIZABETHAM, RICHARDI HARPUR de *Litleover* in eodem Comitatu militis filiam, ille uxorem sibi ducens, simul et felicitatem, amoris mutui tam pignoris quàm fructus, ex eâ suscepit filios tres, HENRICUM, RADULPHUM, et RICARDUM, filiam unicam DOROTHEAM. Ipse dierum, divitiarum, ac famae Satur, annos numerans LXXIX satis cedens huc recessit xxii° Januarij 1656. Postea vitae impatiens, unà et viduitatis, secundum morte conjugium expetijt, simul. obtinuitq; Martij xij°. prox. sequente.

Papam humanitèr, Christum religiosè colens,
fidem Romanam orthodoxam, Charitatem tenens:
In Sacrificio Crucis, non in signo spem ponens
Deo quidem nihil, pauperibus optimè merens;
Monumento ipse nullo prorsus omnino egens
Suo tumulo, Monumentum satis amplum sese his deponi curavit.
Tu autem legens haec viator; abi;
Charitatem ejus alias conantem audi
Mirare, imitare, et memento mori.

MS. Visitat. Co. Derb. in Coll. Armor. Lond. fol. 92 a.

the family of Lovelace's mother,[1] certainly came from the North, 'Lucasta that bright Northerne star', as Lovelace himself calls her in *Amyntor from beyond the Sea to Alexis.*

Wood's account of Lovelace is very inaccurate, as has already been noticed, and no particular reliance need be placed on his identification of Lucasta with Lucy Sacheverel. It is quite as likely that she was a member of the family of Lucas, and that the poet addressed her in the same way as Walton did his second wife, Anne Ken, whom, in the song 'The Angler's Wish', he calls 'my Kenna'.[2] Further, the song 'Come my *Lucasta*', which is set to music in Henry Lawes' *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1653, is said in the Table to be by Sir Charles Lucas, a point which may have some bearing on this question.[3]

If Wood's identification of Lucasta may be wrong, his story of her marrying another on a report that Lovelace had been killed at Dunkirk is demonstrably inaccurate. The poem *To Lucasta. From Prison* obviously cannot have been written during the poet's imprisonment in the Gatehouse in 1642, and there is absolutely no evidence or hint that he was again in prison before 1648 when the lines must have been written. The existence of this poem alone disposes of Wood's story,[4] and it is also unlikely that Lovelace would have collected and published his poems to Lucasta, or that his brother would have included other poems addressed to her in his collection of Lovelace's *Posthume Poems*, without some mention or reference to the circumstances had they been such as are described by Wood.

The evidence which proves that Lovelace returned to England in 1647 or late in 1646 is furnished by the fact that

[1] See *Lucasta paying her Obsequies to the Chast memory of my dearest Cousin Mrs. Bowes Barne.*

[2] 'Here hear my Kenna sing a song.'

[3] I am indebted to Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, K.C., for the suggestion. It may, however, be noted that Charles Cotton's wife Isabella Hutchinson was distantly connected with the Nottinghamshire Sacheverells, among whom was Lucy, wife of Henry Sacheverell of Ratcliffe and Lucy daughter of Ralph Sacheverell (he died in 1605).

[4] See also the *Dialogue* on p. 91 and note.

that he contributed some verses in 1647 to the first folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher. The book was probably published early in the year as Moseley's note 'The Stationer to the Readers' is dated Feb. 14, 1646, i. e. 1646/7.

Probably Lovelace was now living in London. W. C. Hazlitt was the first to note that on Oct. 26, 1647, he was one of four persons admitted to the Freedom of the Painters' Company. The minute-book of the Company states 'Dr George Wild, Colonel Richard Lovelace, Thomas Rawlins, Esq., graver of seals to his Majesty, and Mr. Peter Lilly were all made free.'[1] That he should be accorded this unusual honour shows that Lovelace was a gentleman of some note as well as a critic of taste and, obviously, that he was well known to the painters of the day. There is no evidence that he was himself an amateur painter, but it is not impossible. His brother Francis was sufficiently skilled to draw the portrait bust of the poet which was engraved for *Lucasta. Posthume Poems.* The King had introduced a love of painting into the Court but, outside his own immediate following, anything like an intelligent appreciation of art was very rare in England. Lovelace had the advantage of staying in Holland at a time when Dutch painting was almost at its best and many of the earlier masters were at the height of their power. Rembrandt himself was nearing his fortieth year before Lovelace left Holland. That he brought from the Low Countries a true and delicate appreciation of painting is abundantly proved by his poem on Lely's portrait of the King and the Duke of York and also by his lines called *Peinture. A Panegyrick to the best Picture of Friendship*

Mr.

[1] Quoted by Mrs. Poole in her article on Edward Pierce the Sculptor in the Walpole Society's eleventh volume, 1923. Rawlins, who contributed verses to *Lucasta*, and Lely were friends of Lovelace, and he may well have known Wild, who was afterwards Bishop of Derry. Elected a scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1628, at the age of nineteen, Wild became a chaplain to Laud and later was appointed preacher to the King and Parliament in Oxford. Being turned out of his Fellowship by the Parliamentarian Visitors in 1648, he kept up a religious meeting for Loyalists in Fleet Street. 'In his younger years he was accounted a Person of great ingenuity.' (Wood's *Athenae*, 1691, vol. ii, p. 252.)

Mr. Pet. Lilly, in which he smiles at 'this un-understanding land' and those who

their own dull counterfeits adore,
Their Rainbow-cloaths admire, and no more.

Nothing more which is definite, however, is known concerning him till the following year, when he was committed prisoner to Peterhouse. The reason for this movement is not known, but it was probably a precautionary step which the state of affairs in Kent at that time would fully warrant. Wood only says that 'in 1648, returning into *England*, he, with *Dud. Posthumus* before mention'd, then a Captain under him, were both committed prisoners to *Peterhouse* in *London*, where he fram'd his Poems for the Press, intit., *Lucasta*: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c., *Lond.* 1649, etc.'

That Dudley Lovelace was imprisoned with his brother rests entirely on Wood's authority. *The Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic Series) contains the following entries:

June 9. 1648. That a warrant of commitment be made to send Captain Lovelace to the prison of Peterhouse.

Oct. 3. 1648. Proceedings at the Committee of both Houses at Derby House. Present: Earls of Kent and Mulgrave, Sir Wm. Armyne, Sir J. Evelyn, Col. Fiennes, and Mr Knightley. Ordered,

1. That Col. Moore be desired to be here on Thursday, as also Col. Richd. Lovelace that his petition may be cleared.

Oct. 17. 1648. Proceedings at the Committee of both Houses at Derby House. Present: Earl of Mulgrave, Lords Howard and Lisle, Sir H. Vane, Sir W. Armyne, Sir J. Danvers, Sir J. Evelyn, Sir Wm. Masham, Mr Solicitor St. John, and Messrs. Knightley and Rous. Ordered,

. . . . . .

4. That Col. Moore be desired to be here to-morrow touching the business of Col. Lovelace.

April 10. 1649. Warrant from the Council of State to the Keeper of Peterhouse, To discharge Rich. Lovelace.

The 'Captain Lovelace' in the first of these entries may refer to Dudley, but is almost certainly a clerical error for 'Colonel Lovelace'. The poet's second imprisonment, therefore,

therefore, lasted for ten months. Nothing is known of his movements during the next few years.

'After the Murther of K. *Ch.* 1,' continues Wood, '*Lovelace* was set at liberty, and having by this time consumed all his Estate, grew very melancholy, (which brought him at length into a Consumption) became very poor in body and purse, was the object of charity, went in ragged Cloaths (whereas when he was in his glory he wore Cloth of gold and silver) and mostly lodged in obscure and dirty places, more befitting the worst of Beggars, than poorest of Servants, &c. . . . He died in a very mean Lodging in *Gun-powder Alley* near Shoe-lane, and was buried at the west end of the Church of S. *Bride* alias *Bridget* in *London*, near to the body of his Kinsman *Will. Lovelace* of *Greys Inn* Esq. in sixteen hundred fifty and eight, . . .'

There is no record of Lovelace at the church, which was utterly destroyed during the Great Fire, though he must have been buried 'close to the spot where a little more than a hundred years later Chatterton was given a pauper's funeral'.[1]

Wood's story of Lovelace's miserable end and death is probably totally inaccurate and was no doubt largely derived from Aubrey's account which he had read.

Obiit in a Cellar, in Long-acre a little before the Restoration of his Mat^ie^ Mr Edm: Wyld etc haue made collections for him & givn him money: . . .

Geo. Petty Haberdasher in Fleet-street carryed xx^s^ to him every monday morning from S^r^ . . . Many & Charles Cotton Esq for . . . moneths: but was never repayd.

He may have had other information, but, from whatever source he derived his story, Wood himself knew nothing about the manner or place of Lovelace's death. On Nov. 2, 1686, he was writing to Mr. Thomas Creech for information about Lovelace; on Dec. 15, 1687, to Sir Edward Sherburne for the 'obit' of R. Lovelace; on Feb. 7, 168$\frac{7}{8}$,

[1] *D. N. B.* 'Lovelace's connexion with St. Bride's suggested to Richardson the name of the hero of "Clarissa" and thus, by an ironical destiny, "Lovelace" passed through the agency of Clarissa into common use in the eighteenth century as a synonym for a libertine. Though now supplanted by the older Lothario, it still survives it France.' *Ibid.*

$168\frac{7}{8}$, to Sherburne again about a College lease of 300*li.* per annum and obit and place of buriall of poet Lovelace from his sister Caesar wife of Robert Caesar.[1] In 1674 he wrote in the *Historia et Antiquitates*[2] that he had been told that Lovelace died in the Strand *about* the year 1658, having wasted his substance in dissipations not unusual among poets. It would seem that he had learnt little more in the seventeen years that intervened before the publication of the *Athenae* as to the real facts about Lovelace's last days. Sir Edward Sherburne might have known Lovelace.[3] He was a relative of Thomas Stanley and was in London, in custody of the usher of the Black Rod, from August to October, 1642, at a time when Lovelace was also there. He was again in London after the surrender of Oxford in 1646, living in straitened circumstances with Thomas Povey, a near relation. Lovelace's sister would naturally have been able to give Wood accurate information about her brother's death, but he probably did not obtain any information from this source. Had he done so he would have known the correct date, for the poet died, not in 1658, but in 1656 or 1657. This is conclusively proved by the fact that Revett's elegy on Lovelace was printed in 1657. His book of *Poems* is dated 1657 on both title-pages and the Dedication is dated Oct. 19, 1647, which is clearly a misprint for 1657.[4] This

[1] *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695, described by Himself.* (Oxford Historical Society, 1894, vol. iii.)

[2] See Appendix i.

[3] Edward Sherburne (1618–1702), author of *Salmacis, Lyrian and Sylvia*, 1651, translations of Seneca's plays, etc., became Clerk of the Ordnance in 1642, but was deprived of his post and imprisoned by Parliament. Later he joined the King and was made Commissary General of Artillery. His estate suffered much from confiscation, but he was helped by his cousin Stanley. At the Restoration he recovered his post, but became a Non-Juror after the Revolution.

[4] Mr. G. Thorn Drury, K.C., who first discovered this conclusive evidence, has kindly sent me details of his exceedingly rare copy of Revett. I have only heard of one other copy, which was sold from the Library of Britwell Court. The full title is as follows:

POEMS, | BY | ELDRED REVETT. | Horat. Ep. lib. 2. | *Ad August.* | —*Quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit* | *sibi ducunt*: | *Vel quia turpe putant parere* minori-|bus *& quæ* | Imberbes *didicere, Senes perdenda* | *fateri.* | LONDON, | Printed by *E. T.* for the Authour. | *Anno Dom.* 1657.

The second title is: POEMS | DIVINE. | By | *ELDRED REVET* |

This proves that Lovelace was dead in Oct. 1657. He was alive in the summer of 1656 as he wrote *The Triumphs of Philamore and Amoret* for the marriage of Charles Cotton, which took place then. Lovelace died, therefore, between the summer of 1656 and the autumn of 1657, probably in 1657, as he contributed some lines to Hall's *Hierocles upon the Golden Verse of Pythagoras*, and to a translation of Voiture's *Letters*, both of which were published in that year.[1] It may also be noticed that the phrase in Samuel Holland's unsigned elegy 'Lovelace hath long been dead' is better suited to 1657 than to 1658.[2]

Wood's account of the miseries of Lovelace's last days and his death in 'a very mean Lodging' is also, in all probability, misleading.

> Till Death with slow and easie pace,
> Snatcht the bright Jewell from the Case

is hardly the language one would expect Dudley Lovelace to have used had his brother died in the circumstances mentioned by Wood and by Aubrey.[3]

That Lovelace was at one time in difficulty, and possibly in poverty, cannot be doubted. He sold Lovelace Place at Bethersden to Richard Hulse in 1649, having let it to him since 1644.[4] In 1643 he had already sold 'All that his Messuage

Gent. | *Qui recto Cœlum vultu petis, Exerisque* | *Frontem,* | *In sublime feras animum quoque.* | Boëth. de con. Ph. li. 5. | LONDON, | *Anno Dom.* 1657.

[1] Hall's book was, however, received by Thomason on Dec. 8, 1656. John Davies's translation of Voiture is marked by him June 1, 1657.

[2] Holland's elegy was published in 1660 with the others edited by Dudley Lovelace and also in broadside form without date. See note to p. 208.

[3] In vol. iv of *The Retrospective Review*, 1821, pp. 118–19, a suggestion was made that Wood had 'somewhat exaggerated the miseries of our unfortunate author, or been in some measure misinformed'. Though the argument—first used by Hasted and followed by *Biographica Dramatica*, Campbell and others—based on the inheritance of Lovelace's daughters is worthless, the suggestion that the poet's brothers would not have permitted him to fall into such an abject state and that the elegies 'are not in the strain which might have been expected, had Lovelace died in the friendless and wretched state described by Wood and Aubrey', does not seem to have been followed up by subsequent editors and biographers. Mr. Waite, however, thought that the story was probably exaggerated. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1884.)

[4] See *Archæologia Cantiana*. The following is from the translation made

Messuage or te'nt Barne and Outhouses thereunto belonginge And also all his landes meadowes pastures and arrable lyeing in Halden in the said Countie of Kent, conteyninge Threescore acres more or lesse Togeather wth a p'cell of Woodland called Bottenden Wood al's Barr Bottenden conteynninge Twentie ffive acres more or lesse situat in Bethersden aforesaid in the said Countie of Kent.'[1] He also sold some property at Rucking.[2] Lovelace may often have been in need of ready money if he lived the life described by Wood, but there is no reason to believe that he was ever in a desperate condition of penury and misery. Charles Cotton speaks of him as,

> In Fortune humble, constant in mis-chance,
> Expert in both, and both serv'd to advance
> Thy Name by various Trialls of thy Spirit,
> And give the Testimony of thy merit;

and it is most unlikely that Cotton would have limited himself to the statement that Lovelace was neither unduly exalted by good, nor depressed by bad fortune, had Aubrey's story been correct.

Cotton

by the Rev. A. J. Pearman of the Latin inscription on the tomb of Richard Hulse in the Lovelace Chapel at Bethersden.

'When at length he had happily ended his course of fourscore years, full of years and riches, and laden with honours, to the grief of the succeeding generation, and particularly of his neighbours, who miss his unwearied zeal in the administration of justice, with the utmost serenity of mind he died, at his mansion of Lovelace in this parish, on the twelfth of the Calends of March 1687.'

[1] From an article, signed by Richard Lovelace and endorsed Bethersden, 1643, now in the British Museum (Add. Ch. 47354). It appoints 'Isaac Hunte of Bethersden aforesaid yeoman his true and lawfull Attorney' and empowers him to take 'full and peacable possession state & seizen of the same to deliver to the said Richard Hulse according to the teno^e purporte intent and true meaning of the said recited Indenture Ratifyeinge and confirminge all & whatsoever the said Isaac Hunte shall doe or cause to be done touchinge or concerninge the premisses as fully whollie and effectuallie as if the said Richard Lovelace were then and there p'rsonallie p'nte and did the same In Witnes whereof the said Richard Lovelace hath hereunto sett his hand and seale this Twentieth daie of March In the Nyneteenth yeare of the Raigne of o^r sov'ainge Lord Charles by the grace of god kinge of England Scotland ffrance Ireland defender of the ffaith. Annoq^r d'm 1643.' The document is reprinted in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxiii, p. 337, and a reproduction of the signature is also given.

[2] See article by Mr. A. E. Waite in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1884.

Cotton must have known the truth. He was one of the two gentlemen from whom, according to Aubrey, twenty shillings was conveyed to Lovelace every Monday morning for months. It is this assistance given by him which is probably the origin of the whole story. Lovelace himself in *The Triumphs of Philamore and Amoret* acknowledges generous help from Cotton at some crisis:

What fate was mine when in mine obscure Cave
(Shut up almost close Prisoner in a Grave)
Your Beams could reach me through this Vault of Night,
And Canton the dark Dungeon with Light!
Whence me (as gen'rous *Spahy's*) you unbound,
Whilst now I know myself both *Free* and Crown'd.

These lines contain the key to the difficulty. Aubrey must have heard, no doubt from Wyld, some account of this assistance rendered by Cotton to Lovelace at a time of need, remembered it vaguely, and produced the chatty, inaccurate story given above which is so characteristic of him. Wood, for want of any more reliable information, followed Aubrey's account.[1] What this assistance was and why it was needed remains unknown, though it is possible to form a conjecture. Possibly Cotton was in some way instrumental in procuring Lovelace's release after his second imprisonment, or, which is more probable, at some time between 1649 and 1656 Lovelace was again in trouble with the Parliament and was in hiding. A possible date is August, 1655, shortly before his death. Harrassed by fear of rebellion and in constant peril of assassination, Cromwell had put England under the rule of the Major-Generals. For a time a severe policy was adopted towards the Cavaliers, many were arrested and a close watch kept on all prominent men. A well-known Royalist like Lovelace would not be forgotten, and it is, at any rate, a tenable theory that he was forced into hiding in the autumn of this year. Such a theory would account to some extent for Aubrey's story which, demonstrably inaccurate though it

[1] It should be noted, however, that 'George Petty, haberdasher', was a distant connexion of Anthony Wood (Clark's *Wood's Life and Times*, i. 35), and, which is more important, that Wyld was intimate with Aubrey. (*Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, 1898, i, pp. 4, 41, &c.)

it is, cannot be altogether ignored as it probably had some origin in truth. But had Lovelace died miserably in rags in one of the meanest quarters of London, some of the elegies would have referred to the fact.[1] Not one of them gives so much as the smallest hint that his death took place in circumstances in the least out of the ordinary, and his brother's lines are direct evidence to the contrary.

Before his death Lovelace was contemplating, and may actually have begun to prepare for publication, a second volume of his poems. He did not live to see the book through the press. The work of editing *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* was carried out by his youngest brother, Dudley Posthumus, assisted by Eldred Revett. The following copy of a letter from Revett is preserved in the Cambridge University Library, in Revett's commonplace-book. (D. D. IV. SS. c.)

To Capt: Dudley Louelace into y^e^
Low Countryes.

Sir,

ye noe desire I had to put you to an vnnecessary charge hath bin ye Occasion of my (perhaps ill constru'd) silence, I haue not bin Idle in ye executing those commands you entrusted mee w^th^, but haue found soe little satisfactory Returns that I thought it not Convenient to discourage you wth ye slow proceedings, when my Lrẽs could not Countervayl ye expences to ye poast this might haue had ye same excuse & haue waited for a more considerable season, but y^t^ a too long forbearance may endanger ye suspicion y^t^ I am slack in duty, & y^t^ y^t^ though it bring noe essentiall Comfort, may yet entitle you to a fayr hopes, Mr Cæsar (whom I haue solicited by lrẽ) hath informed M^r^. Davis that by the next opportunity hee will doe somthing Concerning y^e^ [*sic* ? y^r^] desires, the Collonell Poems are not yet in ye press, if they haue birth in Michaelmas Term it will bee ye soonest, ye Taylor still pretends ye want of a Chapman & how long he may I know not, howeuer I shall not bee wanting to Imiportune [*sic*] him, words once Words once [*sic*] Committed to paper are more y^n^ winde, and many

[1] Gunpowder Alley, near Shoe Lane, was, as Mr. Seccombe points out in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'a well-known haunt of indigent refugees, lurking papists, and delinquents'. It is quite possible that Lovelace hid there for some time.

many may bee preiudiciall to a Lrẽ y^t as I ame here informd must bee payd for by weight I shall therefore ye sooner embrace ye honour to subscribe my selfe y^r

Ready freind & servant
Junii 20 Eld: Reuett.[1]

That Richard Lovelace himself was intending to edit the book seems probable from the second of the two following sets of verses addressed to him by Revett and published in the latter's *Poems* in 1657.

To his Honoured Friend, Col. R.L. *upon his second failing.*

One Fault to you is Death agen
A super-errogating sin,
And I thus fall'n from all Repaire,
Set Raving down by wild despaire;
And as the damn'd already do,
Repent my sins by adding to.

Poems, p. 6.

To my honoured Friend, Coll.
Richard Lovelace,
On his second Poems.

As in the presence of some Prince, not one,
But rates his bliss, as he is next the throne,
To which he adds not but himself applies
To boast the Kings to him indulgencies:
Thus Sir (as one you suffer) I appear
Not to give to your fame, but to be near.
How must I then approach? how my self shew,
So just, as that I can be, just to you!
Thou great dispenser of that all we be
Who giv'st us else enough, but to thanke thee
Thou hast our cheaper gratitude out-went
And mak'st us sin in being excellent.

How

[1] There is a copy of another letter from Revett, in the same common-place-book, which seems to refer to the above. This latter is without name or address.

S^r

It was a custome not disingenious in our young Archery, y^t w^hn wee had shot an arrow to som place less Commodious for discouerye, wee directed, ye same way another but wth an aime more assurd and by ye stratagem not vnfrequently Recoverd both, thus hauing let fly my first missiue through ye hands of an ill Conveyance, I haue designd this (but wth a charge more particular) to my first proposall, y^t it may lay open

How from thy first chaste flames thou didst inspire
That earth we fashion'd with *Promethean* fire?
And thine rise no less bright for what they lent
From the Communicative Element:
But the insinuating Rayes derive
Something from us that was not primitive:
Though pure in their own essences they dwell
Not to be mixt with our corruptible;
And should we in our courser matter die
Would rise to their own immortalitie.
But at a kingdomes second birth though ne'r
So much devout to the already heire,[1]
A Nation throngs, and doth (suspended) pay
Duty howe're unto the newer day,
Thus from ador'd *Lucasta* we come on
But to bring hither our devotion:
And though we crowd with a tumultuous pace,
We have like *Ianus* a respective face:
Thou that immortal wer't enough before,
Dost now but ever live, and all this ore;
And art above the Eagle that assumes
(By casting the now aged off) new plumes,
Who dost thy first as vigorous not shed,
But when thou would'st renew thy pomp dost spread.
Vast *Heroe* that will not alone not die,
But lay'st steps to thine immortalitie,
Who dost in thy applausive, Giant-wars
From thine own blest ascent invade the Stars;
Thou hast throughout divided the cleft mount,
And to thine aid with its own spire dost crown't,
Though as thou grow'st near heav'n it hangs the while
As in a dear expectance of the pile,

That

a way to ye pursuance of my former thoughts wch I shall beleiue enough found if you haue receiued them, at leest if I loos both I shall have ye satisfaction y^t they were sacrificd to you, since I lost ye happiness of yours I begin to disrellish all Company, & finde a less gusto in theyr entertayning mee, ye less excellent we but impt more to diuersion and ye best but obliging troubles, you must therfor expect but an ill Return of thos comands you engaged mee in, I am like him in new Rome a stranger in ye midst of ye Citty, I convers not wth ye Publick Lyre, & sequester my selfe from ye Cups & Garlands, & liue w^thin it, though a stranger to my Studdy. This paper howeuer shall haue its business, if it may inform you how much I endeavour

To bee y^r.

[1] Corrected in Errata. The text reads 'hire'.

That swells no sacrilegious hight to gain
But doth the weighty machine there sustain.
  There then advance thy glory till our sight
Conceive thee some new disputable light;
That we cannot define from whence it streams
Although we find thee by thy warmth and beams.

Ibid., pp. 34–5.

Lucasta. Posthume Poems, though dated 1659, did not appear till 1660, when it was issued with the *Elegies Sacred To the Memory of the Author: By several of his Friends*, also edited by Dudley Lovelace.[1] The contents of this second volume add little to Lovelace's reputation, for no one of the poems in it ranks among his best work. There is nothing which can be set beside the opening songs of *Lucasta*. The spontaneity and freshness which are characteristic of so much of the first volume are more rarely met with, 'the sound is forced, the notes are few'. The style is more harsh and crabbed, though a genuine fancy and the knack of paying a graceful compliment are still to be found. The satire *On Sanazar's being honoured* shows some power, and had he done more in this way, Lovelace might have rivalled even John Cleveland, the keenest of contemporary satirists who published anything of importance during his lifetime.

With the exception of *To Althea, From Prison*,[2] Lovelace's poems do not seem to have achieved any great popularity in his own day; he certainly did not enjoy a reputation equal to that of Suckling or Randolph or Cartwright or Cleveland. One of his songs and four stanzas of another were included in the principal mid-seventeenth-century anthology, Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter*, 1655, though these were reprinted from the song-books and not from *Lucasta*, and a discerning criticism, all the more interesting because it may have met with Milton's approval, was written by Edward Phillips in his *Theatrum Poetarum, or a Compleat Collection of the Poets*, 1675.[3]

Richard

[1] See below under *Text of the Poems*. If Wood's story of Dudley Lovelace's imprisonment in 1648 is correct, he may have helped his brother prepare *Lucasta*, 1649, for the press.

[2] See note to p. 70.

[3] ii, p. 160. In Joshua Poole's *The English Parnassus*, 1657, p. 41,

Richard Lovelace, an approv'd both Souldier, Gentleman & Lover, and a fair pretender to the Title of Poet; a Souldier, having Commanded a Regiment in the late King's Army; a Gentleman of a Vicounts[1] Name and Family; a Lover Militant under the Bannor of *Lucasta*, the Lady Regent under a Poetical Name of his Poetical endeavours; and as to the last of his Qualifications, besides the acute and not unpleasant stile of his Verses, a Man may discern therein sometimes those sparks of a Poetic fire, which had they been the main design, and not Parergon, in some work of Heroic argument, might happily have blaz'd out into the perfection of sublime Poesy.

As was his habit, William Winstanley borrowed much of Phillip's summary for his own account of Lovelace whom he thought not unworthy to be compared to the idol of a past generation when he wrote:[2]

I can compare no Man so like this Colonel *Lovelace* as Sir *Philip Sidney*, of which latter it is said by one in an Epitaph made of him,

Nor is it fit that more I should acquaint,
Lest Men adore in one
A Scholar, Souldier, Lover, and a Saint.[3]

As

Lovelace's Pastorals is mentioned as one of 'The Books principally made use of in the compiling of this Work'.

[1] The Lord Lovelace of Hurley was a Baron, not a Viscount.

[2] *The Lives Of the most Famous English Poets, or the Honour of Parnassus*, 1687, p. 170. Both Oldys and Malone left annotated copies of Winstanley, but neither has any note on Lovelace.

[3] *In Recreation for Ingenious Head-peeces*, 1654 (Sig. o 8 verso), the lines are printed:

Reader: within this ground Sir *Philip Sidney* lyes,
Nor is it fit, that more
I should acquaint;
Lest superstition rise,
And men adore
A Lover, Scholler, Souldier, and a Saint.

Another version is given in *Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbery and Castle-Island*, 1665, p. 53.

Epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney lying in St. Pauls's without a Monument, to be fastned upon the Church door.

Reader,
Within this Church Sir *Philip Sidney* lies,
Nor is it fit that I should more acquaint,
Lest superstition rise,
And Men adore,
Souldiers, their Martyr; Lovers, their Saint.

Colonel Richard Lovelace

From the portrait in the Dulwich Gallery

Emery Walker ph.sc.

Althea

From the portrait in the Dulwich Gallery

As for their parallel, they were both of noble Parentage, Sir *Philip's* Father being Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and President of *Wales*; our Colonel of a Vicount's name and Family; Scholars none can deny them both: The one Celebrated his Mistress under the bright name of *Stella*, the other the Lady Regent of his Affections, under the Banner of *Lucasta*, both of them endued with transcendent Sparks of Poetick Fire, and both of them exposing their Lives to the extreamest hazard of doubtful War; both of them such Soldiers as is expressed by the Poet.

> Undaunted Spirits, that encounter those
> Sad dangers, we to Fancy scarce propose.

To conclude, Mr *Lovelace's* Poems, did, do, and still will live in good Esteem with all knowing true Lovers of Ingenuity.

It is possible that Sedley may have intended Eugenio in *The Mullbery-Garden*, 1668, as a portrait of Lovelace. Eugenio is a Cavalier imprisoned and in danger of losing his life for his loyalty; he is the lover of Althea and he is made to say (Act III, Sc. i.)

> The strictest Prison, I have freedom thought,
> And been on Scaffolds without terror brought.
> But these few words (*Althea* is a Bride)
> More wound my Soul, than can the world beside.

Althea, however, is no one's bride but Eugenio's in the play. He also says, 'Though Love possess, Honour must rule my heart', and Diana says to Althea (i, IV.):

> On thee *Eugenio* did his Life bestow,
> To me *Philander* did his Service vow;
> Yet both for Honour have those ties despis'd,
> And now are fled, or must be sacrific'd. . . .

This possible portrait does not seem to have been noticed before.[1]

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century Lovelace seems to have been almost entirely forgotten. He is not mentioned by Pope, and in the middle of the century even such a comprehensive work at Cibber's *The Lives of the Poets*, 1753, ignores him altogether. His popularity may be

[1] The suggestion was made to me by Mr. Thorn-Drury.

be said to date from 1765, when Percy reprinted 'To Althea' and 'To Lucasta, Going to the Warres' in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. In 1792 Sir Egerton Brydges complained in one of a series of articles on Lovelace which he contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, that the subject of his criticism had been excluded from the first edition of *Biographia Britannica*, but by that date Lovelace was beginning to find his way into the anthologies and dictionaries. Accounts of his life, selections from his poems and criticisms appeared in Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Poets*, 1790;[1] Headley's *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*, 1787;[2] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1791–2;[3] Lyson's *Environs of London*, 1792;[4] Ritson's *The English Anthology*, 1793;[5] *The Biographical Mirrour*, 1795; the *British Critic*, 1802 (a review of Ellis);[6] Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, 1809;[7] Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812;[8] Chalmer's *The General Biographical Dictionary*;[9] Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*, 1819;[10] *The Retrospective Review*, 1821.[11]

In 1817–18 the second editions of both *Lucasta* and *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* were published by Singer.

It is unnecessary now to praise Lovelace's well-known songs, but it may be urged that though two or three of his poems—reprinted in every anthology and universally allowed a high place among the lyrics of an age supreme in the art of song—have made his name one of the best known of the seventeenth

[1] pp. 186–90. [2] i. lvii–lviii, ii. 39–40.

[3] Vol. lxi, 2nd part, pp. 1094–5; vol. lxii, 1st part, pp. 99, 135, 166–7, 320–1; vol. lxii, 2nd part, pp. 604–5, 971–2.

[4] Vol. i, pp. 109, 273. The statement made here on the authority of *Occurences from Forreigne Parts*, Number 17, August 23 to August 30, 1659, that the poet was imprisoned in that year in Lambeth house is, of course, worthless. The Colonel Lovelate (*sic*) whose name is given in the list of 'Prisoners who are in custody taken in the late war, or upon suspicion of promotin[g] the same', was Francis Lovelace. See note to p. 2.

[5] Vol. i, 72–3. [6] Vol. xix, pp. 621–2.

[7] Vol. ix, pp. 337–8, 353–7. [8] Vol. ii, pp. 462–3; ed: 1782, i. p. 288.

[9] ed. 1812–17; vol. 20 (1815), pp. 425–6. Lovelace's poems were not included in Chalmers' *The Works of the English Poets From Chaucer to Cowper*, 1810, 'a work professing to be a Body of the Standard English Poets'.

[10] Vol. iii, pp. 399–404. [11] Vol. iv, pp. 116–30.

seventeenth century, they have also prevented full justice ever being done to the bulk of his work. Overshadowed by his famous songs, his other poems have received less attention than is properly their due. Like the majority of the 'mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease', or wished to be thought to write with ease, Lovelace had his happy moments and, as they were happier than those of most of his contemporaries, critics have been irritated to find that he did not always write equally well, and, from Sir Egerton Brydges onwards, have urged this against him with wearisome iteration, as though it was a fault peculiarly his own. A certain amount of his work does not reach a very high level of merit, but he wrote a larger amount of respectable verse than is generally allowed. Had he never written *To Althea, from Prison*, or *To Lucasta, Going to the Warres*, Lovelace must still have been accorded a reputable, if not a prominent position among the lesser poets of the seventeenth century. These poets affected wit and with 'their slender conceits and laboured particularities' imitated to the best of their ability the tricks of a style which Donne had made fashionable. Lovelace was a minor poet who was generally content to follow the fashion so far as the form of his verse was concerned. Occasionally he wrote satirical lines against his lady such as 'When I by thy faire shape did sweare' or *Courante Monsieur*, but his poems in this vein are few and Lovelace generally adopts an attitude of chivalrous devotion, couching his compliments to Lucasta in extravagant conceits. In his best poems he does not depend for effect on the methods and peculiarities of the 'metaphysical' school, and, though he will occasionally carry off a conceit with the best, as in *The Scrutinie, Gratiana dancing and singing* or even *The Apostacy of one, and but one Lady*, he is neither sufficiently profound nor sufficiently clever to take quite naturally to this form of poetry. His faults are obvious; he is often careless and obscure because of his carelessness, not as Donne, because of the complexity or subtlety of his thought. His elliptical style is difficult and his 'wit' tends to be laboured and artificial. Lovelace is essentially an amateur, the 'idle singer of an empty day', the

the courtier and soldier to whom verse writing was a fashionable hobby, and he has the faults as well as the virtues of his kind. At his best he displays an ease and grace, a delicate chivalry and spontaneity in which Wyatt, perhaps, approaches him as closely as any other English poet; at his worst he sinks to a level from which mere craftsmanship would have saved a more experienced author, but, as Swinburne said of Nabbes, 'there is no great matter to be looked for in the minor poems of a minor poet'. None the less, with Lovelace as with many others in that age of song writers, these minor poems would have been the better without a continual striving after an unnecessary and often false effect. What Pope said of Crashaw is peculiarly appropriate to Lovelace, and the following extract is not an unfair judgement on his work:

'I take this Poet to have writ like a Gentleman, that is, at leisure hours, and more to keep out of idleness, than to establish a reputation: so that nothing regular or just can be expected from him. All that regards Design, Form, Fable, (which is the Soul of Poetry) all that concerns exactness, or consent of parts, (which is the Body) will probably be wanting; only pretty conceptions, fine metaphors, glitt'ring expressions, and something of a neat cast of Verse, (which are properly the dress, gems, or loose ornaments of Poetry) may be found in these verses. This is indeed the case of most other Poetical Writers of *Miscellanies*; nor can it well be otherwise, since no man can be a true Poet, who writes for diversion only. These Authors shou'd be considered as *Versifiers* and *witty Men*, rather than as *Poets*; and under this head will only fall the Thoughts, the Expression, and the Numbers. These are only the pleasing parts of Poetry, which may be judg'd of at a view, and comprehended all at once. And (to express myself like a Painter) their *Colouring* entertains the sight, but the *Lines* and *Life* of the Picture are not to be inspected too narrowly. . . .

His thoughts one may observe, in the main, are pretty; but oftentimes far fetched, and too often strain'd and stiffned to make them appear the greater.' His poetry is 'a mixture of tender gentle thoughts and suitable expressions, of forc'd and inextricable conceits, and of needless fillers-up to the rest. From all which it is plain, this Author writ fast, and

set

set down what came uppermost. A reader may skim off the froth, and use the clear underneath; but if he goes too deep, will meet with a mouthful of dregs'.[1]

This, it may be added, is the rather patronizing judgement of a professed man of letters on the amateur who only 'writ like a gentleman'. But to write in this way was the aim of the Cavalier poets, and Lovelace, had the same criticism been passed on him in his lifetime, would not have felt hurt. If it is impossible for one who writes for 'diversion only' to be a true poet, he would not have aspired to a title which carried with it some implication of professionalism. The ideal which he shared with his contemporaries, and with predecessors like Philip Sidney, was different to that of the eighteenth century, or that of Samuel Butler, who held that 'there is no excuse for amateur work being bad'.[2]

The compliment which Lovelace would have appreciated was paid him by Francis Lenton, when that rather indifferent poet, after praising his verse, asked:

> Thus if thy careles draughts are cal'd the best,
> What would thy lines have beene, had'st thou profest
> That faculty (infus'd) of Poetry,
> Which adds such honour unto thy Chivalry?

The Cavalier poets still held the broad and sane view of the Italian Renaissance which despised specialization and would have a gentleman seek to educate himself in all possible ways, and be good at many things rather than excel in one. The complete gentleman was a man of many parts, a statesman, a soldier well versed in the arts of war, a courtier no less well versed in those of peace, exercising his body in all proper sports and his mind in the study and practice of music, of painting, and of literature. All accomplishments were desirable, but each was a means to the end and not an end in itself. Above all things it was necessary that the gentleman should do whatever he undertook, whether it was the writing

[1] Letter to Cromwell, dated Dec. 17th, 1710. *Mr. Pope's Literary Correspondence*, 1735, I, ii, pp. 302–4; *Letters of Mr. Pope*, 1735, i, pp. 153–5.
[2] *Note Books*, ed. 1918, p. 145.

writing of a set of verses or the playing of a game of tennis, with an apparently effortless and rather disdainful grace and ease—'sprezzatura' as the Italians called it.[1] The ideal is that which Baldassare Castiglione set forth at length in his *Book of the Courtier* and to which a feebler expression was given by Henry Peacham, whose *Compleat Gentleman* was highly popular among the Royalists. One of 'the chiefe conditions and qualities in a Courtier' is that he should 'do his feates with a slight, as though they were rather naturally in him, then learned with studye: and use a Reckelesness to couer art, without minding greatly what he hath in hand, to a mans seeminge'.[2] The sentence may stand as a description of the method of the Cavalier poets. Lovelace, who seems to have been a man of many accomplishments—'inur'd to Arms and exercis'd in Arts', a scholar, a musician and a wit—largely fulfilled the requirements of Castiglione, and this has led to the often quoted comparison with Sidney. He certainly wrote with this 'recklessness', nor was it always 'to a mans seeminge' only. Such a course has obvious dangers, and like other of his contemporaries he often succumbed to them. Haste, want of practice, and consequent lack of mastery over technique, inevitably tend to render the Caroline poet incoherent and his verse laboured; he does not always attain that ease which he seeks. The 'recklessness' is too often in evidence, the 'art' is sometimes altogether forgotten.

So much may fairly be urged against the Carolines in general and Lovelace in particular, but it is clearly not the conclusion of the whole matter. Even if these seventeenth century poets favoured a way of writing which could not win them very high places in the hierarchy of literature, if they

[1] Florio translates the word, which Hoby gives as 'recklessness', as 'a despising or contemning'; other dictionaries add 'disdain'.

[2] *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio . . . done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby*, 1561, Sig. Yy 4. Compare Johnson on Congreve; 'There seems to be a strange affectation in authors of appearing to have done every thing by chance' (*Lives of the . . . Poets*, 1781, iii, p. 48), and Moseley's statement prefixed to Heath's *Clarastella*, 1650, '. . . the gallantness and Ingenuity of the Gentleman is so Eminent in every thing, that I could not imagine, but that the meanest of his Recreations, (for such was this) might carry much in it, worthy of the publick view: . . .'

they did not try to write any poetry which could rank among the greatest—for gay and gallant and graceful, and even sincere though their songs may be, they are seldom more than songs—their method was none the less attended by a measure of success which was its justification then, as it has been at other times in the history of our literature. It is not that they had any particular diffidence, or that they necessarily recognized their own limitations and preferred to write minor poetry, which was often good and occasionally excellent, to indifferent verse of a more ambitious nature. Besides the writing of verse they had other things to do which they considered of more importance. Whatever they thought about it, however, the result is the same, and their method is responsible for the freshest and most delicate lyrics and all the most passionate love songs of the seventeenth century. Lovelace is typical of his times; he shares the faults of his contemporaries, and they are not a few, he shares their success and that to a degree which makes him a worthy representative of his class—the amateur poets. 'He writes very well for a gentleman.'

TEXT OF THE POEMS

With the exception of some lines engraved under the portrait of Voiture in J. Davies's translation of *Letters of Affaires*, 1657, the whole of Lovelace's poetry which we possess to-day is contained in the two little volumes of *Lucasta* and *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* of 1649 and 1659 respectively.

These two volumes are the sole authority for the text. The second edition did not appear for over 150 years. A few verses were written in commendation of various books, and are to be found prefixed to them, but these were sometimes corrected, and one copy was rewritten, before they were included in *Lucasta*. Some contemporary MSS. of the song *To Althea, From Prison* are still in existence, but they do not challenge the authority of the 1649 text, though they are

are interesting as showing that some alterations were made from the song as it was actually written.[1] Otherwise there is nothing of any importance.

Lucasta, 1649.

According to the Stationers' Registers, *Lucasta* was licensed on Feb. 4, 164$\frac{7}{8}$, and entered on May 14, 1649.[2] The text of this volume is good. A few corrections, mostly towards the end, were made while the book was in the press. The following is a list of those that I have noticed:

Page	80	line	13	Daere	to	Dare
,,	86	,,	23	chrusht	,,	crusht
,,	95	,,	5	Heovenly	,,	Heavenly
,,	95	,,	9	colme	,,	calme
,,	96	,,	1	now *omitted in some copies*		
,,	100	,,	8	loook	,,	looke
,,	100	,,	29	And her	,,	And as her
,,	100	,,	30	loayall	,,	loyall
,,	100	,,	31	sight.	,,	sight,
,,	101	,,	24	stop	,,	strip
,,	103	,,	14	blest.	,,	blest;
,,	103	,,	30	cracking squirrells	,,	squirrells cracking
,,	103	,,	31	The	,,	She
,,	105	,,	12	tempting	,,	temp'ring
,,	105	,,	25	my breaths	,,	thy breaths
,,	105	,,	31	bth,	,,	both,
,,	107	,,	12	th' Rage	,,	Rage
,,	107	,,	14	sends	,,	finds
,,	107	,,	15	exposing	,,	expiring

Apart from this there are some points of bibliographical interest connected with the book. It is to be found, certainly in two, and perhaps in three different states. Sheet B (pp. 1–16)[3] was entirely reprinted and in some copies Sheet A, containing part of the Commendatory Verses, is missing. So there are the three states:

1. Without A. B in the first state (Bodleian, Douce L. 524).[4]

2. With

[1] See Note to p. 70.

[2] See Note to title page, 1649.

[3] These contain the poems from 'If to be absent were to be' to the end of 'Gratiana dancing and singing'.

[4] A copy of the engraving by Hollar after Francis Lovelace, which belongs to *Lucasta, Posthume Poems*, has been inserted before the engraved title in this copy. See below under 'Portraits and Engravings'.

2. With A. B in the first state (British Museum, E. 1373).
3. With A. B in the second state (Bodleian copy, Ash: B. 14).

The two main questions which arise are whether Sheet A was or was not included in the book as it was originally published, and the reason why Sheet B was reprinted. The collation of the book is, the engraved title, of which the reverse is blank; *a* eight leaves, the first being the printed title, the verso of which is blank; A four leaves, A 4 blank; B–L in eights; M 4 leaves, M 4 blank. *a* and A, 22 pp. with the title-page, contain the Commendatory Verses, and M 3 the 'Table of the Contents'. There is a second engraving representing 'Lucasta' or 'Aramantha', of which the reverse is blank. This is generally found between Sheets K and L, the engraving facing p. 145 on which the poem 'Aramantha. A Pastorall' begins; in some copies the engraving is found between Sheets A and B, facing p. 1. The total is 96 leaves not including the two engravings. The text of Lovelace's poems occupies pp. 1–164.

I have seen or have some account of thirty-one copies of *Lucasta*. The evidence which suggests that A is supplementary to the book as at first issued is furnished in the main by three of these. The first is the Douce copy in the Bodleian from which this edition is reprinted.[1] This is a very nice copy, and there is no sign that any one has tampered with it. It is certainly an early issue, as it has only the first five of the corrections noted above. It has, however, been rebound. Secondly, there is the copy which once belonged to Lovelace's sister and has 'Johanna Caesar her book' written over the 'Dedication'. This copy is, perhaps, stronger evidence that A is an addition to the book as it was first issued because it contains the Sheet, not in its proper place, but bound in at the

[1] The verses in A are taken from the Ashmole copy in the same Library, and the text throughout has been checked with two other copies, one in my own possession, the other in the Worcester College Library.

the end.[1] This seems even more significant than its complete omission. If added by a recent owner, the sheet would in all probability have been put into its proper place after *a*, with the object of perfecting the book. The original owner, on the contrary, while wishing to have leaves which would make her copy complete, might not wish to break it up. It is unfortunate that this copy is not in its original binding. It has also some corrected readings as 'finds' and 'expiring'. The third copy which I have seen is very imperfect, lacking many pages. By itself it would furnish no evidence of any value, but it would seem to have been issued without the four leaves of A. Lastly, it must be added that the copy which Singer used lacked this sheet, and the poems included in it are omitted in his edition, though he may, of course, have used the Douce copy, and that 'a very indifferent copy' bought by Hunter on Sept. 30, 1853, also wanted it,[2] but this again may have been the imperfect copy just mentioned. The evidence afforded by these three, or possibly five copies, though it is certainly not conclusive, is too important to be altogether ignored.

Against it, however, must be put the very important fact that the copy in the British Museum (E. 1373) which once belonged to Thomason, and has the date June 21 marked by him on the title-page, is complete. Thomason was a bookseller who made a vast collection of tracts and pamphlets between 1641 and 1660, each piece being dated by him on the day he purchased it. Though he sometimes allowed books to accumulate for a short time, his dates are nearly always the days of publication and are generally accepted as such. It may be noted that this copy has the corrected reading 'crusht' on p. 86, while what would seem to be later copies, with the reprinted B and other corrections, still have the uncorrected reading 'chrusht', but evidence afforded by these readings is of very little value. If they prove anything

[1] This copy was kindly shown to me some years ago by Messrs. Pickering and Chatto.

[2] See *Chorus Vatum* where Hunter gives a list of the Commendatory Verses in his copy.

anything it is that the printer made up no complete copies until he had reprinted Sheet B, as will be seen below.

Taking into consideration the evidence on both sides, the most that can safely be said is that it may originally have been intended to issue *Lucasta* without A, and some copies got into the market without this Sheet. It was not unusual for verses which arrived late to be included in a book, some copies of which had already been issued, printed on a special sheet or half sheet. This was done with Lovelace's own lines written for *Musarum Oxoniensium Charisteria*, 1638.[1] But even if some copies of *Lucasta* were made up without A, there is no ground for assuming that they were issued before the complete book was ready, and we may accept Thomason's date, June 21, as the approximate day of publication.

There is one other point connected with the Commendatory Verses which may be mentioned. In one of the British Museum copies (238 b. 52) the order of the preliminary matter is altered; the verses by Marvell, Hall, Lenton, Rawlins, and Dudley Lovelace are placed immediately after the Dedication and before the verses by Francis Lovelace; *i.e.* Sigs. a 7, a 8, A 1 and A 2 are put between a 2 and a 3. The signatures and the catchword 'De' on A 2 prove that it is no more than a mere alteration of the order. Possibly the purpose of this was to give Marvell the place of honour, a supposition which is supported by the fact that two other copies, now in America, also have the Commendatory Verses 'improperly arranged', presumably in the same order as the British Museum copy.[2] This same copy differs from any other that I have seen in that there is an ornamental initial on p. 1 and also a head ornament to the same page.

There remains the question with regard to Sheet B. That this was entirely reprinted can be seen at a glance from the position of the signatures. The reprint is genuine and not a later fake. This is certain both from the number of copies in which it is found and from the paper which, though it is inferior

[1] See note to p. 27.

[2] Nothing was known of Marvell in 1649, but the change could have been made a number of years later.

inferior and though the watermarks are different, is not substantially of a later date than the earlier issue. Old paper might well have been used for a single or even a few forgeries, but it is hardly conceivable that over a dozen copies should want this particular sheet, or that a forger would not have kept closer to the original. There are many differences of spelling and a few of punctuation between the two versions. These are referred to below as B (1) and B (2). The following is a complete list :

			Original Sheet.	*Reprint.*
Page 15	line	10	foaming	foming
,, 15	,,	17	wee	we
,, 15	,,	18	Unseene,	Unseen,
,, 15	,,	18	unknowne,	unknown,
,, 16	,,	1	doe	do
,, 16	Title		*Warres.*	*Wars.*
,, 16	line	8	Nunnerie	Nunnery
,, 16	,,	10	Warre	War
,, 17	,,	1	Starre	Star
,, 17	,,	9	face	face,
,, 17	,,	10	Ayre,	Ayre
,, 17	,,	11	knowne	known
,, 17	,,	15	Sunne,	Sun,
,, 17	,,	17	runne	run
,, 17	,,	22	keepes	keeps
,, 17	,,	24	poore	poor
,, 17	,,	24	sleepes	sleeps
,, 17	,,	27	stole,	stole
,, 17	,,	28	Beare,	Bear,
,, 18	Title		To Amarantha,	To Amarantha.
,, 18	line	1	*AMarantha*	*AMarantha,*
,, 18	,,	5	unconfin'd	inconfin'd
,, 18	,,	9	Ev'ry	Eve'ry
Catchword after Stanza III			Doe	Do
,, 18	line	13	Doe	Do
,, 19	,,	3	downe	down
,, 19	,,	4	fanne	fan
,, 19	,,	4	breast.	brest.
,, 19	,,	5	Heere	Heer
,, 19	,,	5	strippe	strip
,, 19	,,	6	Creame	Cream
,, 19	,,	7	drawne	drawn
,, 19	,,	8	teare	tear
,, 19	,,	11	sorrowes	sorrows [*some copies*]
,, 19	,,	11	weepe.	weep,
,, 19	,,	12	*keepe.*	*keep.*

Page 20	line	1	bowe,	bow,
,, 20	,,	2	possest,	possesse,
,, 20	,,	7	Our	our
,, 20	,,	14	Pearles	Pearls
,, 20	,,	14	shells	shels
,, 20	,,	18	more;	more:
,, 20	,,	21	afresh	a fresh
,, 21	,,	2	Crowne	Crown
,, 21	,,	2	awhile	a while
,, 21	,,	9	faire	fair
,, 21	,,	12	blackest,	Blackest,
,, 21	,,	13	skye-like	sky-like
,, 21	,,	15	clowdy	cloudy
,, 21	,,	16	damaske	damask
,, 22	,,	1	New-startled	New startled
,, 22	,,	4	strowe	strow
Catchword after Stanza II			Vermi-	Vermilion
,, 22	line	9	Offpring	Ofspring
,, 22	,,	10	*Silenus*;	*Silenus*:
,, 22	,,	11	decke	deck
,, 22	,,	15	nest	Nest
,, 22	,,	17	dresses,	dresses;
,, 22	,,	19	feare;	fear;
,, 22	,,	20	neere.	near.
,, 23	Title		*dauncing*	*dancing*
,, 23	line	8	Starre	Star
,, 23	,,	10	swells	swels
,, 23	,,	13	thought	thought,
,, 23	,,	14	Ambitious	ambitious
,, 24	,,	1	sweare	swear
,, 24	,,	8	must	Must
,, 24	,,	8	wrong,	wrong.
,, 24	,,	11	browne	brown
,, 24	,,	11	haire,	hair,
,, 24	,,	15	un-plow'd-up	un-plow'd up

Of thirty-one copies about which I have information, eighteen have B(1) and thirteen B(2). It is possible that part of the original issue was in some way destroyed. This is not very likely, however, and the printer certainly had in stock sheets of B(1) after he had printed B(2), and he went on using them as well as the newer and worse printed sheets when making up the complete book. This is clearly proved by the corrections, noted above, which were made when *Lucasta* was in the press.

As a rule these corrections are quite easy to follow, e.g. the readings 'sends' and 'exposing' in lines 14 and 15 of

p. 107 were corrected to 'finds' and 'expiring'. Of fifteen copies with B (1), five have the uncorrected and ten the corrected readings. No copy with B (2) has the uncorrected readings, while eleven have the words 'finds' and 'expiring'.

Again, in line 24 of p. 101, 'stop' was corrected to 'strip'. I find that of twenty-two copies, about which I have this information, three with B (1) have the uncorrected and ten the corrected reading; the remaining nine copies with B (2) all have the corrected reading.

These are both instances of a correction made before many copies of the sheet had been printed. It is different with two misprints, in lines 5 and 9 of p. 95, which were obviously not corrected till later. Eleven copies with B (1) and seven copies with B (2) have the uncorrected readings 'Heovenly' and 'colme'; five copies with B (1) and five with B (2) have the corrected readings 'Heavenly' and 'calme'.

Again the word 'Chrusht' in line 23 of p. 86 was corrected to 'Crusht'. I have information on this point about twelve copies only, but the evidence is sufficient. Five copies with B (1) and one copy with B (2) read 'Chrusht'; two copies with B (1) and four with B (2) read 'Crusht'.

These figures prove that the printer still had in his hands many, if not all, copies of the first issue of Sheet B after he had reprinted it. The fact that there is so large a proportion of copies with B (2) might seem to lend weight to the theory that some of the original sheets must have been spoilt or destroyed, but it is quite possible that the sheet had to be reset simply because the printer made a bad miscalculation of the numbers he would require, and distributed his type after printing an entirely insufficient quantity.[1] It was not an uncommon practice in Elizabethan times for a printer to distribute his type as he went along so that he could use it again,[2] and though by the middle of the seventeenth century printers

[1] Judging from the scarcity of *Lucasta* now, no large number can ever have been printed.

[2] See *Notes on Bibliographical Evidence*, R. B. McKerrow, Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. xii, 1914, p. 46.

printers may have had more type, it is not improbable that Harper was forced to use the same economy. Originally he followed copy and kept Lovelace's spelling. Reprinting, he saved time—it would also be more economical—by spelling as he chose and this would account for the shorter spellings, then beginning to come into use, which form the majority of differences between the reprint of the sheet and the original. Mr. Percy Simpson has pointed out to me a parallel instance in the case of Jonson's *The Divell is an Asse*, Folio 2, 1640. The sheets of the original issue of the play, which was printed in 1630, for some reason gave out and had to be made good in 1641. The printer reset the sheets with innumerable alterations and blunders. It was, of course, a common practice in the seventeenth century for printers to make corrections in the text of a book while they were actually engaged in printing it, and to collect the sheets afterwards quite indiscriminately, so that in one book there are often countless combinations of sheets in different states. A well-known example of this is the first edition of *Paradise Lost*. In the case of *Lucasta* it would seem that the sheets were kept roughly in the order in which they were printed, and though, as is proved by the figures quoted above, this did not always happen, sheets containing a misprint which was afterwards corrected are generally bound with B(1). In the present edition the spelling of B(1) is kept. This is clearly the form in which Lovelace intended his poems to appear and it is in harmony with the rest of the book.

The 1649 *Lucasta* is a rare volume. I have seen or heard of twenty-seven copies of it in England; of these the British Museum and the Bodleian have each three copies and there are two in the Dyce Collection. The others are in private hands.[1] I traced two copies in America and the late Mr. Beverley Chew kindly told me of eight others. One of these contains the reputed signature of Anne Lovelace to whom

[1] One or two which I have seen at Messrs. Sotheby's may have since gone to America, though one at least of the ten copies mentioned as being in America has since returned to England.

whom *Lucasta* was dedicated. Hazlitt mentioned it in his edition of Lovelace and stated that the autograph 'was taken from a copy of Massinger's *Bondman* (edit. 1638, 4to) which her Ladyship once owned'.[1] Mr. Chew told me that the signature is pasted on the back of the title. A hundred years ago Sir Egerton Brydges spoke of *Lucasta* as still procurable, though by no means common. To-day perfect copies with both the engravings are very scarce. At the date of publication the book sold for a few pence; the copy which once belonged to John Aubrey, now in the Bodleian, has the prices 8*d.* and 4*d.* marked in it. In 1914 the Huth copy was bought by Messrs. Quaritch for £145.[2]

Lucasta. Posthume Poems and *Elegies Sacred to the Memory of the Author.*

The second volume of Lovelace's poems was published two years after his death by his youngest brother, Dudley Posthumus Lovelace, assisted by Eldred Revett, who seems to have been a kind of literary agent to Lovelace.[3] The collation of the book is four leaves without signature; B–I 6 in eights, irregularly marked. There is an engraved title to the *Elegies* on H 6 verso; the printed title to them is on H 7, the verso of which is blank. Lovelace's poems and translations occupy pp. 1–107. The *Elegies* are paged afresh, beginning on H 8, 14 pages;[4] the signatures are continuous. The question of the half sheet or two quarter sheets which make up

[1] This fact Hazlitt took without acknowledgement from *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica*, 1815, p. 194.

[2] Messrs. Quaritch kindly sent me details of this copy. Another interesting copy, bought by Messrs. Quaritch in 1906, was that presented by Charles Cotton to Lord Chesterfield. According to *Book Prices Current*, 1906, p. 642, there is an inscription on the fly-leaf, 'Charles Cotton ex dono Authoris', and the arms of Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, are stamped in gold on the side. This inscription is in Cotton's hand, not Lovelace's.

[3] See above and note to p. 167. There was a delay in the publication.

[4] The first page of the *Elegies* was numbered 101. If the title was counted and the pagination otherwise continuous, it would have been 111. From this it seems possible that the printer at first intended to make the pagination continuous.

make up the first four leaves is complicated and is discussed in detail in the section on the Engravings. To sum up the conclusions there reached, it may be said that the two leaves with the title-page and the Dedication by Dudley Lovelace are the same in all copies. The differences occur in the two other leaves. These may be a blank and the Faithorne engraving of 'Lucasta' in any one of three states, a blank and the Hollar engraving in any one of three states, generally the second or third, or they may contain both the Faithorne and the Hollar engravings. The blank may appear only as a stub. The Hollar engraving may be added to a copy which already contained the other, in which case it forms an extra leaf. When the Hollar engraving occurs in the third state, and probably when it is found in the second, it was printed at a later date than the rest of the book. This is possibly true of the Faithorne engraving in the third state.[1]

Lucasta. Posthume Poems was not published till 1660, the date on the title-page of the *Elegies*. The book could not have been issued before the very end of 1659, as it is entered on the Stationers' Registers under Nov. 14.[2] The copy used for this edition is that in the Bodleian (Malone 372). I have also used my own copy and one in the Worcester College Library. This little volume is now very rare, much more so than *Lucasta*, 1649. I have only been able to see nine copies of it. The sale of nineteen copies of *Lucasta* is recorded in *Book Prices Current* between 1887 and 1920. In the same period only four copies of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* were sold. One of these, a perfect copy with three engravings, was bought by Messrs. Quaritch in 1912. It was then stated to be the only perfect copy in that condition sold for twenty-five years.[3] The Britwell copy, a presentation copy from the editor, also with three engravings, was bought by the same firm in 1924.

There

[1] I have, of course, not seen copies in all these states, or perfect copies in more than one or two of them.

[2] See note to title-page [1659] and Revett's letter quoted above (p. lii).

[3] This is the copy mentioned below as belonging to Mr. H. T. Butler.

As is mentioned above, the second editions of the two volumes of Lovelace's poems appeared in 1817 and 1818, when they were separately reprinted by S. W. Singer at Chiswick, from the Press of C. Whittingham.[1] This edition, which was limited, cut out all passages which were thought to be obscene or improper. The Commendatory Verses comprised in Sheet A of the 1649 volume are omitted. One new poem was included, *A Dialogue betwixt Cordanus and Amoret on a Lost Heart*, which, says the editor in his Preface to the second volume, 'is to be met with, set to music, in Lawes's "First Book of Ayres".' W. C. Hazlitt also included this poem in his edition. The *Dialogue* is not by Richard Lovelace, but by his brother Colonel Francis Lovelace, to whom it is attributed in the table of *Ayres and Dialogues, For One, Two, and Three Voyces. By Henry Lawes . . . the First Booke London 1653*. The poem was reprinted in Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter*, 1655.

The next edition of Lovelace was that by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt in the *Library of Old Authors*, published in 1864 and reprinted in 1897. Mr. Hazlitt gave Anthony Wood's life, and added notes to it and to the poems, the order of which he altered.

In 1906 the two *Lucastas* were included in the 'Unit Library'; the edition was afterwards sold in 'Hutchinson's Popular Classics'. This book is nearly a reprint of the original volumes, has a few notes, and gives Wood's 'Life'. It follows the British Museum copy (238. b. 52) in the order of the Commendatory Verses.

An edition in two volumes, 8vo, was privately printed for the members of the Caxton Club, Chicago, in 1921. This is a reprint of Hazlitt's edition of Lovelace rather than of Lovelace. It faithfully reproduces every impossible reading invented by that editor, and prints the poems in the order devised by him.

The lines by Lovelace already mentioned as not having been included in *Lucasta* or *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* were contributed

[1] Volumes i and iv of *Select Early English Poets*.

contributed to *Letters of Affaires Love and Courtship. Written To several persons of Honour and Quality; By the Exquisite Pen of Monsieur de Voiture, A member of the Famous French Academy established at Paris by Cardinall de Richelieu. Englished by J. D. London, Printed for T. Dring and J. Starkey, and are to be sold at their shops, at the George in Fleet street near Cliffords Inne, and the Miter at the West end of St Pauls Church, 1657*. The lines are under the portrait to which there is no inscription, the whole being on copper. In this edition they are placed after the 1659 volume.[1]

W. C. Hazlitt quoted some lines, which were prefixed to John Quarles' *Fons Lachrymarum*, 1648, and signed R. L., with the suggestion that they might be by Lovelace. He added, however, that if so it was strange that they were not admitted into either of the volumes of his poetry. It is almost certain that they are not by Lovelace, but by Richard Love of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who also wrote verses before Quarles' *Emblems* and was, with Quarles, a contributor to the Cambridge collection *Carmen Natalitium*, 1635.

The following lines by Alexander Brome were first noticed by a writer, signing himself F. W., in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1792, i. 166. They were not included among the Commendatory Verses prefixed to *Lucasta* and have not been printed in any of the subsequent editions.

To Colonel Lovelace *on his Poems.*

So through the *Chaos* crept the first born ray,
That was not yet grown up to be a day,
And form'd the *World*; as do your powerful rythmes [rhymes?]
Through the thick darkness of these verseless times,
These *antigenius* dayes, this boystrous age,
Where there dwells nought of Poetry but rage:
Just so crept learning forth the rav'nous fire
Of the Schismatick *Goths*, and *Vandals* ire:

As

[1] See note to p. 214.

As do in these more barbarous dayes our times,
VVhen what was meant for ruine, but refines.
Why mayn't we hope for *Restauration*, when
As ancient *Poets* Townes, the new rais'd men,
The tale of *Orpheus* and *Amphion* be
Both solid truths with this *Mythology*?
For though you make not stones & trees to move,
Yet men more senceless you provoke to love.
I can't but think, spite of the filth that 's hurl'd
Over this small *Ench'ridion of the World*,
A *day* will break, when we again may see
Wits like themselves, club in an harmony.
Though *Pulpiteers* can't do it, yet 'tis fit
Poets have more *success*, because more *wit*.
Their *Prose* unhing'd the State; why mayn't your verse
Polish those souls, that were fil'd rough by theirs?
Go on, and prosper; though I want your skill,
In weighty matters tis enough to will.
And novv the *Reader* looks I should help rear
Your glories *Trophy*, else what make I here?
'Tis not to praise you; for one may as well
Go tell *Committees* that there is an hell,
Or tell the World there is a *Sun*, as praise
Your amorous fancy, which it self cant raise
'Bove *Envies* reach or flatteries; Ladies love
To kiss those accents; who dares disapprove
What they stile good? our lines, our lives, and all;
[By their *opinions* either rise or fall:]
Therefore the cause why these are fixed here,
Is livery-like to shew some great man 's near;
Let them stand bare, and usher, not commend;
They are not for *Encomiums*, but t'*attend*.[1]

In the present edition the text of 1649 and 1659 is closely followed; the only departures from it are in the case of more or less obvious mistakes. The chief difficulty, the question of the titles to the poems on pp. 86 and 87, is discussed

[1] See *Songs and other Poems. By Alex. Brome, Gent. . . . London, Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun in Ivy-Lane, 1661.* pp. 138–9.

The line in brackets is not found in this edition, but is taken from the second and third editions of 1664 and 1668. In line 27 the first edition reads 'help near'.

discussed in the notes. The punctuation has only been altered when it seems wrong by seventeenth-century standards or when there is a second authoritative text, as in the case of verses contributed to other publications, the punctuation of which has sometimes been preferred. All changes are recorded in the textual notes.

PORTRAITS AND ENGRAVINGS

IT is probably impossible to prove conclusively that the picture of the young Oxford Master of Arts with the scarlet gold-laced coat and the pair of fringed gloves, which forms the frontispiece to this edition, is a portrait of Lovelace at the age of eighteen when he was given his degree on the occasion of the King's visit to Oxford in 1636. It is, however, highly likely. The portrait belongs to the second quarter of the seventeenth century—the details of the costume are characteristic of the period 1630–40, and the extraordinary likeness between this portrait and the subject of the Dulwich picture is at once noticeable. The same is true, though perhaps in a slightly lesser degree, of the two engravings by Hollar, particularly that after the drawing by Francis Lovelace. The combination of cap and gown with so rich a dress is unusual, particularly in the case of a boy of eighteen or thereabouts. The portrait cannot represent any royal prince except Prince Rupert, and no one could ever claim it as his. No one else among the recipients of honorary degrees on August 31, 1636, would look quite so young, and there was not another occasion of the same kind in the second quarter of the century. Were it not for a discovery made by Mrs. Lane Poole in the Oxford Archives it would seem that the portrait could represent no one but Lovelace. Mrs. Poole, however, has found that one Thomas Coke was given an honorary degree, as a compliment to his father, two months before

before Lovelace received his.[1] In the Vice-Chancellor's accounts for August, 1635–August, 1636, there is an entry: 'Item paid for a pair of gloves given to Secretary Cooke's son £1. 0. 0.' On the occasion of the King's visit eight pairs of gloves were provided for the King and noblemen, so if Lovelace had a pair—and he could hardly have presented himself for his degree without gloves—he bought them for himself. The motto furnishes no clue; it might have been adopted by either Lovelace or Coke.[2] The book shown in the picture probably represents the Oxford Statutes. It cannot be claimed as representing the official, signed MS. of Laud's Statutes which Sir John Coke brought to the University, as 'a booke' would seem to have been part of the equipment of the recipient of an Honorary Degree, '. . . to the Count Palatine a Booke and a payre of Gloues'. (Archives, Register R. 24.) What was correct for one Master would be correct for another. Thomas Coke was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1630.[3] He would probably have been sixteen or seventeen at the time, and he might well have been eighteen, in which case he must have looked impossibly young for his age, twenty-four, in 1636. On the other hand he might conceivably have been as young as fourteen when he was admitted—Bacon was admitted at that age—in which case his appearance would not have been quite so unusual, but the question of age is a weak point in this identification. The portrait is certainly of Coke[4] or of Lovelace; it probably represents the latter, and it is at least safe to claim that this

[1] 'Causa est ut gratitudinem nostram erga patrem illius honoratissimum et in hoc negotio de codice Statutorum Authentico per eum à Majestate Regia nunc ad nos allato imprimis bene meritum, hac ratione saltem quum alia non possimus qualitercumque testatam faciamus.' (*Register of Convocation.* R. fol. 125.)

[2] According to *Fairbairn's Book of Crests*, the motto 'Prodesse quam Conspici' was used in the families of Cox, Cocks, Cookesey, and Coxs. It also occurs in the bookplate of Ralph, second Earl Verney, 1712–91.

[3] April 28. See J. Foster's *Register of Admissions*, 1889, p. 190. I have been unable to find the date of his birth.

[4] In 1640 Thomas Coke was M.P. for Leicester. He was a Royalist, though his elder brother, Sir John, was on the side of the Parliament. Through an heiress-descendant he was the ancestor of Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister to Queen Victoria. He died in 1656.

this is how Lovelace appeared when he was given his degree.[1]

The portrait after p. lvi is reproduced from the picture in the Dulwich Gallery which must have been painted after Lovelace's return to England in 1647, perhaps at the time when he was given the Freedom of the Painters' Company. The official *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Gallery of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (4th ed. 1905) states that the portrait, No. 363, is described by William Cartwright the actor, by whom it was bequeathed to the College in 1686–7, as 'Colonell Louliss his pictur, in armor, 3 quarters clouth.' It was No. 100 in his Catalogue and he paid £3 for it, but there seems to be no other record of how he came to possess either this portrait or those of the other members of the Lovelace family, including the poet's father, grandfather, great-uncle, and great-grandfather, as well as 'Althea', which are also in the Dulwich Gallery. The words 'Col. Lovelace' written across the portrait are probably the work of Cartwright.

The Catalogue does not assign the portrait to any artist, but Mr. C. H. Collins Baker in his book on *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters* has worked out a theory which gives the picture to a hitherto unknown painter whom he believes to have been F. How (active *circa* 1645–1665?).[2] An early nineteenth-century engraving definitely states, 'Dobson pinxt', but this unsupported assertion has no authority. Mr. Collins Baker considers that the Dulwich portrait 'with its poetical romance, is clearly Dobsonesque, though it cannot be placed as his. . . . For Dobson the *Lovelace* is too flat, nor is the colour his. The hand, moreover, is not Dobson's, being fatter, shorter, and less definitely Van Dyckian. Dobson . . . was remarkably accomplished in Van Dyckian hands, while yet his heads were flat and china-clear in colour. And in his later manner he still retained something of the form his master taught him. . . . It seems to me that we are fortunate in having this English portrait rather than an interpretation

[1] For a further note on this picture see the end of the Preface.
[2] Vol. II, pp. 99–102.

interpretation from Van Dyck. The brilliant Fleming would have given us the courtly deportment in the heroic, almost stagey, vein that runs through his *Lords John and Bernard Stuart* or his *Charles Louis and Robert of Bavaria*. But he would not have achieved the unselfconsciousness of this *Lovelace*. . . . On the other hand, this *Lovelace* portrait, inferior and almost amateur though it be in a technical comparison, is unselfconscious, unaware of its appealing, wistful, and romantic sadness. It is one in feeling with Dobson's *Sir Charles Cotterell* and Johnson's *Sir Ralph Verney*.'

The Dulwich *Lovelace* has been engraved at least three times. One engraving is by Clamp, 'Pub^d^. Augt. 1, 1794, by E & S Harding, Pall Mall. Clamp sculp.', and was included in the *Biographical Mirrour* (*a*), the second was drawn by W. Green and engraved by C. Pye (*b*), and the third, which states 'Dobson pinxt', was engraved by W. C. Edwards (*c*).[1]

The

[1] Comparing (*c*) with the other two and the original picture, the late Mr. T. W. Jackson pointed out to me that it seems just possible that it is not from the same painting. It is noticeable that (*c*) omits the left hand, though this was a common liberty for engravers to take. There is also a difference between (*c*) and the other two engravings in the shape and size of the mass of long hair on the subject's right, one result of which is a great difference in the distance between the hair and the right eyebrow. The difference is again marked in the height of the brow on Lovelace's right. The treatment of the scarf in (*c*) is vague, though this may be nothing more than the engraver's carelessness, and the same may be true of the collar as seen in the centre. It is probable, however, that the engravings have a common origin: e. g. a projecting rivet on Lovelace's left shoulder is plainly, even prominently seen in (*c*), in (*a*) it is more slightly visible, and in (*b*) hardly at all.

In (*c*) we have an older man than in the Dulwich picture, the expression is different and the moustache and eyebrows thicker and darker. But Clamp also shows an older man than does the original, and the engraving is a very bad specimen of the accuracy of his work. The outline of the face differs, and the set of the lips and chin and the treatment of the moustache, while all the beauty and refinement of the face is quite lost. He ends the hair on Lovelace's right in an elaborate, round curve, which is the same in Edwards', much less natural and life-like than the straight line of the Dulwich picture. It seemed possible that some repainting had been cleared away when Clamp or Harding took his drawing. This would have accounted for the inaccuracy and general hardness of the engraving. I made inquiries, however, and the Chairman of the Gallery Committee informed me that they had no record of the picture having been restored at any time, since or before 1794.

The engraving by Hollar,[1] which shows Lovelace at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, is reproduced from a brilliant impression in the Sutherland Collection at Oxford. There are two copies in the British Museum, but neither is quite so fine.

The engraving representing Lovelace as Orpheus surrounded by the birds and the beasts, reproduced opposite p. lxxxviii, is traditionally ascribed to Richard Gaywood, and is probably after Barlow or Francis Cleyn.[2] The reproduction is from the print in the British Museum.[3]

The portrait of *Althea*, No. 77 in Cartwright's catalogue, was another of his bequests to the Dulwich Gallery. He describes the picture, for which he gave £2, as 'Althea's pictur, her hare descheull on 3-quarters clouth'. Nothing is known about the portrait, which forms part of the Lovelace collection. As Cartwright must have obtained possession of the pictures soon after they left the Lovelace family, if indeed, as is possible, he did not get them direct from Richard Lovelace, his evidence tends to show that we really have the portrait of the lady to whom the poet addressed his song from prison. E. V. Utterson in an article on *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* in *Censura Literaria*,[4] considered that there is a 'strong resemblance between this portrait and the print of Lucasta engraved by Faithorne from a picture of Lely'. This is rather fanciful, but it is not impossible that the two names were given to the same lady, though there is little resemblance between this portrait and the so-called *Lucasta* engraved by Hollar after Samuel Cooper. The suggestion made in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that a nameless picture at Dulwich 'which certainly resembles the engraved portrait'

[1] Gustav Parthey's *Wenzel Hollar*, 1853, no. 1692.

[2] Compare Cleyn's designs for Ogilby's *Virgil*, 1654, which were used again for Dryden's translation.

[3] There is a later state of this engraving. A note below the Museum print says that 'There is an earlier state, worked over where the "Sould by R. P." is'. The tops of some letters in the bottom right hand corner of a print in my possession, on a space which is clear in the Museum print, prove, however, that this at any rate is later.

[4] 1805. Vol. X, p. 294.

portrait' may be Lucasta cannot be entertained. This portrait (presumably No. 362) is not among the Lovelace collection and is simply described by Cartwright as a 'woman in a blue mantell'. The resemblance is not very obvious, and as the picture was painted by Jacob Huysmans, who was probably born in 1633 and did not come to England until the reign of Charles II, its authenticity as a portrait of Lucasta is more than doubtful.

The Hollar engraving after Samuel Cooper, which is reproduced on the same page as the Hollar engraving of Lovelace, is said to represent Lucasta. Parthey (No. 1532) says, 'Gilt in England für die von Lovelace besungene Lucasta', and the British Museum Catalogue of Engraved Portraits enters it under 'Lucy Sacheverell'. I do not know whether this attribution originated with Parthey, but I have not found any earlier mention of it. George Vertue in his *Description of the Works of Wenceslaus Hollar* (ed. 1745, p. 68, second ed. 1759, p. 79) simply describes it as 'A Lady's Head'. It may be after a miniature which formed lot 1020 in the Hawkins' sale at Messrs. Christie's in 1904.

There are some points of interest connected with the engravings which were included in the two volumes of Lovelace's poetry. The two plates in *Lucasta*, 1649, both of which are reproduced in this edition, were designed by Lely and engraved by Faithorne in Paris.[1] As is noted above, the portrait of Lucasta is generally found facing p. 145, but it is sometimes placed opposite p. 1 after the Commendatory

[1] The original drawings do not seem to have survived. William Faithorne (1616–91) was a pupil of Robert Peake, who was knighted by Charles I. Peake took up arms for the King and persuaded Faithorne to join him. At the fall of Basing House, Faithorne was made prisoner, and was for some time confined in Aldersgate. His friends, with considerable difficulty, obtained his release upon condition of his leaving the country. He retired to France, but was permitted to return after 1650. In a poem on Faithorne's 'Book of Drawing, Etching, and Graving,' Flatman, himself a well-known miniature painter, writes:

> A [*Faithorn sculpsit*] is a charm can save
> From dull oblivion, and a gaping grave.

Poems and Songs, ed. 1682, p. 124.

Commendatory Verses, or facing the engraved title, as in the Dyce copy (5926) and that belonging to Mr. John Drinkwater. This engraving exists in four different states. The first is that reproduced in this edition; the second is from the same plate, slightly worn, with the addition of the word 'Lucasta' at the foot; the third is much worn, but has some extra hatching in the folds of the cloak behind the subject's right shoulder, as well as stippling on the face and neck; the fourth issue, which is from a reworking of the plate in its third state, is to be found in vol. II of Samuel Woodburn's *Gallery of Rare Portraits*, 1816. The same plate was used for all four issues; this is certain from various details, common to all, which need not be specified, though it would be interesting to know how Woodburn obtained the original and whether it is still in existence. The use of stipple, which is found in the third state, was not common in the seventeenth century, and it is unlikely that it was used by Faithorne himself, though he was alive in 1660, or shortly after, when the plate was touched in this way. That the third is a separate issue, and that copies in this state are not merely worn impressions of the fourth, is proved by the presence of extra hatching in the foliage at the top of the tree in good impressions of the fourth, which is absent from worn impressions of the third state.

In *Lucasta*, 1649, this engraving is almost always found in the first state. I have, however, seen one copy, belonging to Mr. T. J. Wise, which has it in the second, and I have heard of another.[1] It seems probable that the word 'Lucasta' was added to the plate when it was decided to use it again for the second volume of Lovelace's poems; that the change was not made in 1649, or indeed before 1660, is the

[1] A third copy, now in America, of which Mr. Beverley Chew kindly sent me details some years ago, also contains the plate in the second state, but the evidence afforded by this copy is of very little value. It has the autograph 'S. Edgerton Bridges [? Brydges] 1790' on the fly-leaf, and the 'Lucasta' plate takes the place of the blank A 4. M 4 blank is lacking, and inserted before the frontispiece, which is laid down, is a modern copy of the Lucasta plate and the portrait of Lovelace from Singer's edition. The plate in question is probably inserted.

the more likely as a copy of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* in a contemporary binding has the plate in the first state. Possibly the engraving in Mr. Wise's copy was inserted later, or it may be that one or two copies of *Lucasta*, 1649, were not sold till after 1660—the sale of the book was very slow—so that it is possible that they were actually issued after the appearance of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems.*[1]

What are generally considered—and probably quite correctly considered—as perfect copies of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* contain two plates, the portrait bust of Lovelace which was designed by his brother Francis and engraved by Hollar, and the engraved title to the *Elegies*, printed on the verso of Sig. H 6, which is from the same plate as the engraved title to *Lucasta*, 1649, with the wording on the mantle altered. The Hollar engraving is to be found in three different states. The first, of which there is a cropped impression inserted in a Bodleian copy of *Lucasta*, 1649 (Douce L. 524), is undated and has the inscription, 'In memoriam fratris desideratissimi delin: Fran: Lovelace.' This is the original issue which has been reproduced in the present edition from the impression in the fine copy of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* now in the possession of Mr. John Drinkwater, a copy which contains the signature of Benjamin Rudyerd.[2] The second issue has the words, 'In memoriam fratris desideratissimi; delin: Fran: Louelace, Aī Wenceslaus Hollar Bohem, sculp: 1660.' The Dyce copy (5927) in the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum has the plate in this state, and the same issue is reproduced in the Grolier Club *Catalogue*, 1905.[3] The

[1] See note to title-page of *Lucasta*. Dod took over the remainder of the stock of *Lucasta*, 1649, and he could have obtained a copy of the second issue of the engraving from Godbid, even if he had sold the plate. It is just possible that the word 'Lucasta' was added to the plate if and when some copies were taken off to give to the lady herself.

[2] There is a slight difference in appearance between these two impressions owing to the copy in the Bodleian having been more heavily inked. The plate has not been touched. As the inscription is hardly legible in Mr. Drinkwater's copy, this has been reproduced from the Douce volume.

[3] This is the issue described by Parthey in his *Wenzel Hollar*, no. 2676. He does not mention the other issues. The portrait was engraved by William Richardson in 1795, and again by J. Swaine for Singer's edition in

The plate was re-engraved, or entirely re-worked, for the second issue and was spoilt in the process. The direction of the gaze is altered and all life taken out of the expression. There are numerous alterations from the first issue, in the position of the lettering at the foot and on the urn, in the position of the martlets on the shield, in the foliage and background. The wreath has additional leaves and gains support from two pieces of string somewhat unconvincingly tied on each side to the nearest bough. The third issue has the date altered to 1662, but is in all other respects the same as that of 1660.

Some copies of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems*, however, contain three plates, the two just mentioned and the 'Lucasta' plate engraved by Faithorne. I have seen three copies with three engravings, and they are all different. There is one in the British Museum which has the Hollar engraving in the third state as frontispiece to the book, printed on the verso of the first leaf, and the Faithorne engraving in the second state printed on the verso of the fourth leaf facing p. 1. There is a note in this copy, probably written by Thomas Grenville, to whom it belonged, 'It is so rare to find the Elegies and all 3 plates, that a copy of this description sold at Bindley's for £11 11*s.* 0*d.*' The copy mentioned found its way into the Britwell Court library and was sold in 1924 for more than ten times the sum quoted by Grenville. It has both the engravings in the second state, in the same positions as the Museum copy.[1] The third copy, which belongs to Mr. H. T. Butler, who has very kindly allowed me to borrow it, has the Hollar engraving in the second state and the Faithorne engraving in the first state,[2] both in the positions they occupy in the other two copies. This copy is of particular interest, as it is a very fine one in

a

1818, though here the ornaments were omitted 'as very deficient in taste'. There is also a poor engraving, which is not dated, 'From an extreme rare print by Hollar.'

[1] The engraved title to the *Elegies* is the same in all copies.

[2] It would seem that this engraving must have been taken from the unbound sheets of a copy of *Lucasta*, 1649. It is a fine impression.

a contemporary binding of dark calf gilt. Both the Museum and Britwell copies have been rebound. I have seen no perfect copy of *Lucasta*, 1659, which contains only the Faithorne engraving and the title-page to the *Elegies*, though a poor copy in my possession, from which the latter plate has been torn out, contains the former in the third state. The presence of the Faithorne engraving in four copies, one of which has never been rebound, is strong evidence that it belongs to the book, and the fact that the paper on which it is printed, in the Museum copy and in my own, is not the same as was used in 1649, confirms this. It seems probable that the Faithorne plate and a blank leaf originally constituted a quarter sheet, which with another quarter sheet (often of thicker and coarser paper than was used for the other sheets) containing the title and dedication, made up four leaves of preliminary matter.[1] In the Britwell copy and in that belonging to Mr. H. T. Butler the stub which is complementary to the 'Lucasta' engraving is folded round Sheet B, appearing between it and Sheet C. This must be the original blank before the title.[2] Both these copies have the Hollar engraving in the second state, but in Mr. Butler's copy the chain lines in the paper are vertical, in the Britwell copy they are horizontal. The chain lines in the Faithorne engraving in the latter copy are vertical, so the stub which now exists must once have been a blank leaf.[3] In Mr.

[1] I have not seen an original blank. In some cases there would be a stub instead of a blank. See below.

[2] In the Britwell copy the original end paper on which Dudley Lovelace wrote the inscription is complementary with the stub before it. In Mr. Butler's copy the end papers have been torn out—one of them probably contained a similar inscription by the editor who corrected some misprints in the book—but a stub belonging to one of them appears between the leaf with the dedication and the 'Lucasta' plate.

[3] In the Dyce copy, 5927, it is clear that a separate quarter sheet, or different paper, was used for the Hollar engraving, and it is probable that this was printed later than the rest of the book as the distance between the chain lines in the engraving, which are vertical, is, Mr. G. H. Palmer tells me, about 23.5 mm. as compared with about 25 mm. in the other sheets. The ordinary paper was quite suitable to receive the impression of an engraving as is proved by the engraved title to the *Elegies* on the verso of Sig. H 6. The plate in this copy is inlaid, so there is no blank, nor is there a blank in the other Dyce copy. The Hollar engraving inserted in

Mr. Drinkwater's copy the chain lines in the paper of the same engraving in the first state are horizontal. This is important as it shows that the printer did not intend to use the two halves of a quarter sheet. When he turned the paper so as to print the engraving with the chain lines horizontal, the second leaf—the fourth in the book—would only be a stub which he could not use for a second engraving.[1] If he wished to print a second he would have to use another quarter sheet, or at least another piece of paper. From this it is probable that when the chain lines in either of the two plates in question are horizontal, the printer intended at first to use only one of them and the other must be an insertion. The Britwell Court copy and that belonging to Mr. Butler would seem to show that the Hollar engraving was inserted in copies which already contained the 'Lucasta' plate, the latter being moved to allow the portrait of Lovelace to form the frontispiece. My own copy of the Faithorne engraving in the third state has the chain lines horizontal, so in this case again there can have been no intention to include two engravings. That the printer would normally use both leaves of a quarter sheet when he wished to print two engravings is not only likely, but would seem to be proved by the Museum copy in which the chain lines in both engravings are vertical. They are printed on the same paper and the two leaves in all probability constitute a quarter sheet. It is impossible to be certain of this, however, without taking the book to pieces, and another objection is the fine condition of the 'Lucasta' engraving. If it was not printed before 1662, the date of the third state of the Hollar plate, not many impressions of the second issue of the Faithorne plate can have been taken off in two years. The book was rebound

the Douce copy of *Lucasta*, 1649, is on quite different paper to that which was used for *Lucasta. Posthume Poems*, so at no time can it have formed part of a half sheet of preliminary matter, nor is it likely that it was printed with the rest of the book. The Bodleian copy of 1659 once contained the Hollar print of which there is a clear offset on the title-page. This copy and that in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, both have an original end leaf with an inscription by Dudley Lovelace.

[1] In this particular copy the plate has been inlaid, so the stub does not exist.

rebound for Grenville and consequently it is possible that a stub which appeared between Sheets B and C may have been taken away, though the stub was not removed when the Britwell Court copy was rebound.

We know that the Hollar plate was re-engraved as early as 1660, so it is clear that the print was available in the same year as *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* was published. From this it may be argued that the engraving must have been ready at the same time as the book. It may have been so. None the less it seems clear that it was intended at one time to include the 'Lucasta' print in the volume of 1659, and also that the book was not always issued with three engravings. The two plates used in 1649 were available and it would be convenient to use them again. The word 'Lucasta' was therefore added to one plate—if this had not been done earlier for late copies of *Lucasta*, 1649—and the other was altered so far as the lettering is concerned, to serve as frontispiece to the *Elegies*. These changes may have been made at an early stage and some impressions of the 'Lucasta' plate may have been taken off before the book itself was ready. Sheet H could not be completed until the other plate had been altered, and the small addition of seven letters to the first plate could easily have been made at the same time. On this assumption there is no reason why the Hollar engraving should not have been available by the time the book was ready for issue, so there were three plates which could be used. The engraving by Faithorne was then either left out or, as in the three copies described above, was moved to another position. In this edition the second state of the Faithorne print is not reproduced.

CONTEMPORARY

Lovelace as Orpheus

Engraved by Richard Gaywood (?) after Francis Barlow or Francis Cleyn

CONTEMPORARY MUSICAL SETTINGS

SIXTEEN of the songs in *Lucasta*, 1649, are there stated to have been set to music by various musicians, Henry and William Lawes, John Laniere, Thomas Charles, John Gamble, Mr. Hudson, Dr. John Wilson, and Mr. Curtes. Wood states that part of *Aramantha. A Pastorall* was also set to music for two voices by Henry Lawes. Of these settings seven are reproduced in this edition. Four are to be found in print, Wilson's setting of *When Love with unconfined wings*, Charles' of *Why should you sweare I am forsworn*, Henry Lawes' of *Amarantha sweet and Fayre*, and Gamble's of *Tell me Alexis what this parting is.* The remainder are included in the MS. collection of songs by Henry Lawes in the possession of the Rev. H. R. Cooper Smith, D.D. This MS., which has been in the present owner's family for over a hundred years, was a kind of commonplace book in which Henry Lawes jotted down nearly all his songs.[1] It contains four settings of poems by Lovelace, one of which, *Amarantha sweet and Fayre*, is also to be found in print. The remaining three, *If to be absent were to be*, *The Chyldishe God of Love did sweare*, and *Now* [*How*] *I grieve that I am well*,[2] probably do not exist elsewhere and Dr. Cooper Smith has most generously allowed the songs to be reproduced from his MS. The settings of the three songs which were put to music by William Lawes may possibly exist in the MS., somewhat similar to Dr. Cooper Smith's Henry Lawes MS., which was sold originally at the same sale and is now, it is believed, in America.

[1] For a full account of the MS. see Todd's edition of *Milton*, 3rd edition, vol. v, under the account of Henry Lawes in the Introduction to *Comus*.

[2] See note to p. 30.

NOTES

NOTES

1649

TITLE-PAGE. *Lucasta.* The entry on the Stationers' Registers under the 14th May, 1649, is:—

Master Harper Entred . . . under the hands of Sr NATH: BRENT and Master LATHAM warden (being licensed the 4th of Ffebr. 1647 [*i.e.* 164$\frac{7}{8}$])

Poems called Lucasta or Epodes, Odes, Sonnetts, songs, by Rich: Lovelace, Esqr. . . . . vj^d

(*A Transcript of the Registers*, 1913, vol. I, p. 318.)

In 'A Catalogue of some Books Printed for, and sold by *Edw. Dod* at the *Gun* in *Ivy-Lane*', an advertisement leaf placed at the end of Whitefoote's *Deaths Alarum* [a funeral sermon on Joseph Hall] *London*, Printed by *W. Godbid*, for *Edward Dod*, at the *Gun* in *Ivy-lane*, *M. DC. LVI*, is an advertisement of 'Poems, Songs and Sonnets, written by *Richard Lovelace*, Esq. 8'. In his *Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers*, Mr. Plomer states that Lovelace's *Poems* are included in a list of seventeen books advertised for sale by Dod and Nath: Ekins at the end of R. Bayfield's *Bulwarke of Truth*, published in 1657. From this it is clear that the sale of *Lucasta* was slow. Godbid, who printed *Deaths Alarum*, also printed *Lucasta. Posthume Poems*, and no doubt he obtained from Dod the plate of the Faithorne engraving which was included in both volumes of Lovelace's poems.

Thomas Harper, printer in London, Little Britain, 1614–56, 'bought the printing business of George Wood and William Lee, which had previously belonged to Thomas Snodham, who in his turn succeeded Thomas East or Este' in 1634. In 1639 he was in partnership with Richard Hodgkinson. He printed Ruggle's *Ignoramus*, 1630, Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631, Camden's *Annales*, 1635, Camden's *Remaines*, 1636, some music for John Playford, and, during the early years of the Rebellion, some pamphlets against the Parliament which

brought him into trouble. He died March 22, 165$\frac{5}{6}$. See *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers*, Plomer, 1907, p. 91.

Thomas Evvster or Euster is known from this volume to have been at the Gun in Ivy Lane in 1649. 'William Dugard also printed for him in the same year a little school manual entitled *The Plainest Directions for the true-writing of English. . . . By Richard Hodges. . . 1649*'. *Ibid.* p. 71.

PAGE 1. THE DEDICATION. I am indebted to Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, K.C., for the loan of his copy of Pathericke Jenkyn, who has several imitations of Lovelace in *Amorea. The Lost Lover. Or The Idea of Love and Misfortune. Being Poems, Sonets, Songs, Odes, Pastoral, Elegies, Lyrick Poems, and Epigrams. Never before printed. Written by Pathericke Jenkyn, Gent. London, Printed for William Leeke and are to be sold at the Sign of the Crown in Fleet street: between the two Temple Gates.* 1661. Compare with Lovelace's lines, *To Amorea; The Dedication*:

To the fairest and divine,
Next unto the Sacred Nine,
To the Queen of love and beauty,
I do offer up my duty;
To the sweetest disposition,
That e're Lover did petition,
To the best and happ'est fortune,
Ever man did yet importune,
To the Lady of all hearts,
That pretend to noble parts;
To the altar of her eyes,
I my self doe sacrifice;
To her ever winning glances,
Here I doe present my fancies;
And to her all commanding look,
I doe dedicate my book.

Anne Lovelace was the wife of John, second Lord Lovelace of Hurley. The daughter and eventual heiress of Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Cleveland, she was born on July 20, 1623, according to her 'Nativity' which is preserved in the Bodleian. [MS. Ash. 243 (168b)]

Her husband was a prominent Royalist whose name figures in a pamphlet dated June 8, 1642, *A Catalogue of the Names of the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Lords,*

that absented themselves from the Parliament, and are now with his Majesty at Yorke.

He was later with the King at Oxford, but came in to compound for his estates in 1645. He was fined 18,373*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, but after he had paid about £4,000 his sequestration was suspended. *D.N.B.*

His wife was assessed at £800 in January, 1646. The assessment was discharged for £350 paid in September. (*Calendar of Proceedings of Committee for Advance of Money*, p. 668.)

Ten years later he was again in trouble with the Parliament, and the Clarke Papers record that he was sent to the Tower on June 9, 1655.

He became Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire, in which county he had estates, in 1660, holding the post till 1668. He died two years later at the age of 54. See *D.N.B.*, *Calendar of State Papers*, *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion* and note to p. 113.

His marriage licence was granted by the Bishop of London in 1638. (Harleian Society, *Marriage Licences, 1611–1829*, vol. ii, p. 236.)

July 9. The Rt. Hon. John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley in co. Berks, Bachelor, 22, at his own disposal, & The Hon. Lady Anne Wentworth, dau. of the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Earl of Cleveland, Spinster, 15, & with her father's consent; alleged by Mr. William Witton, Clerk, Chaplain to sd. Earl of Cleveland; at St Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, Chelsea, Middx., or St. Giles in Fields.

l. 7. *Taper of the Thore.* The word 'thore' is an anglicized form of the mediaeval spelling 'thorus' of 'torus', a marriage bed. Compare:

May Heav'n show'r down its Manna on your Head,
And bless with an increase your *toral* Bed.

T(homas) S(teevens), *A Miscellany of Poems*, 1689, p 33.

l. 11. *Loretto's shrine.* 'Unto this falsely patronized Chappell, they offer yearely many rich gifts, amounting to an unspeakable value, as Chaines, & Rings of Gold and Silver, Rubies, Diamonds, silken Tapestries, Goblets, imbroudries and such like.' (*The Totall Discourse*, Lithgow, ed. 1640, p. 28.)

l. 13. *Carkanets.* Necklaces. On his visit to Loretto in 1658 de Coulanges was shown the treasures preserved there. 'Il y vit un cœur d'or, enrichi de diamants, donné

par Henriette de France, reine d'Angleterre, femme de l'infortuné Charles 1er. En l'ouvrant, on voyoit cette princesse à genoux, qui présentoit le cœur du roi à la Sainte Vierge, avec ces mots, *Quo charius, eo libentius.* On lui montra également deux yeux et un cœur, tout couverts de gros diamants, donnés par Madame royale de Savoie; la couronne et le sceptre de la reine Christine de Suéde; et un modèle de la Bastille de Paris en argent ciselé, hommage de Henri de Bourbon, prince de Condé.' (*Mémoires de M. de Coulanges*, Publiés par M. de Monmerqué, 1820, p. 17.)

l. 17. *Whilst from the Pilgrim she wears.* Lovelace probably made 'pilgrim' a trisyllable.

l. 22. *Garnet-Dublet.* A Dublet is 'a counterfeit jewel of two pieces of crystal or glass cemented together with a layer of colour between them or a thin slice of a gem cemented on a piece of glass or inferior stone'. (*N.E.D.*)

PAGE 2, l. 1. *oblieg'd.* The pronunciation of 'oblige' indicated by this spelling, which is common, survived until within living memory. Lovelace uses the spellings 'oblidg'd' and 'oblige' on p. 56, l. 22.

l. 10. *As if thy Child were illegitimate.* This would hardly have been tactful if Hunter's suggestion in *Chorus Vatum* as to the pedigree of Lucy Sacheverell were correct. See *Introduction*, pp. xlii–xliv.

Francis Lovelace. As is mentioned in the Introduction, Colonel Francis Lovelace was in command at Carmarthen in 1644 until the town was taken by Langhorne. As the latter wrote on July 16, 1646, to the Speaker, 'They [a body of gentlemen already named] removed the King's forces out of the county, the better to enable them to raise their county's power, which, to the number of 1,500 men, were brought by them before the town of Carmarthen. There they all declared for the King and Parliament, and treated with the town, which received them, and unanimously made up one body and summoned the castle to surrender, which was commanded by Colonel Lovelace, and had good store of ammunition. The next day it surrendered to them, and passes were granted to Major-General Stradling, and the Governor with the gentry that entered the town to quiet the place, and the same day they delivered up the town and castle, with the ammunition and provisions, for King and Parliament. This action was a great step to the reduction of South Wales. (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1645–7, p. 455.)

NOTES. *Page* 1.

Further events in the life of Francis Lovelace may be traced from the *Calendar of State Papers*, but he must not be confused with his cousin the Recorder of Canterbury, who received Charles II on his landing in 1660 and presented him with an address 'together with a small Present of Gold (their Mite)', as his printed speech relates, or with the second son of the first Lord Lovelace. The Recorder of Canterbury was concerned in the 'Christmas-Gamboll' of the 'high and mighty Mutineers of Canterbury' in 1648, and was arrested by the Parliamentary party after they had 'gathered together with their confederate friends . . . Chaplains and other instruments of war', an event to which he referred when in July, 1660, he petitioned for and obtained the office of Chief Steward of the Liberties of the late Monastery of St. Augustine for himself and his son Goldwell. He surrendered it in 1663, when it was given to Sir Anthony Aucher, and in 1664 a Mr. Lovelace, steward of the Chancery Court of the Cinque Ports, who may or may not have been the same man, died. Whether all the other references in the State Papers are to the same Francis Lovelace is not quite certain, but, as was suggested to me by Mr. Thorn-Drury, and has since been clearly proved by Captain G. Clarkson Shaw in *Notes and Queries* for January 1, 1921, the Governor of New York in 1671 was not the son of Lord Lovelace of Hurley, but the poet's brother. Captain Shaw quotes from an Ashmolean MS. entitled 'Interment of Mr. Wm. Lovelace, New York, 1671' (reprinted in *The American Historical Review*, vol. ix, 1904), which shows that present at the funeral were Thomas Lovelace, 'father of the deceased and his Lady in close Mourning', Colonel 'ffrancis Lovelace p'sent Goveno^r of New Yorke and uncle to the deceased in close mourning single', and 'Capt: Dudley Lovelace uncle also to the deceased in like Mourning single'. He goes on to show that the Minutes of the Executive Council of New York state that Thomas Lovelace, brother of the Governor, was at this time (1672) Alderman of New York City, having been so appointed October 31, 1671, and was a captain in the Foot Company of Staten Island on July 1, 1672. Captain Shaw gives further evidence, which need not be quoted here, to prove that the Governor of New York was the son of Sir William Lovelace of Woolwich.

The State Papers contain some references to Francis

Lovelace previous to his appointment as Governor of New York. On May 1, 1650, a pass was given 'For Sir Hen. Moodie and Fras. Lovelace, with six servants, to Long Island, they subscribing the engagement.' On September 25, 1652, a pass was issued 'For Fras. Lovelace beyond seas'. It was possibly on one of these two occasions that Richard Lovelace wrote his lines 'Advice to my best Brother. Coll: Francis Lovelace'. On June 21, 1655, Mr. Manning writes to Thurloe from Cologne, 'Remember Cols. Fras. Lovelace and Edw. Villars, and Mr. John Denham', and on August 4, 1657, a pass was issued 'for Fras Lovelace and servant to Holland'. If these entries refer to the poet's brother, he must have returned to England in 1658–9, as the Thurloe Papers in the Bodleian [MS. Rawl. A 57 (191)] mention among the List of Prisoners in his Highness Tower of London under the custody of John Lord Barkstead, Louitenant of the Tower, one ffrauncis Louelace who on Nov. 6 was 'in close confinement for High Treason till he is delivered by due course of Law'. The State Papers record that he was committed on August 5, 1659, with Wm. Cooper, Mr. Denton, and Sir Bayham Throckmorton. (See also *Occurences from Forreigne Parts*, no. 17, 1659.) In 1661 Col. Francis Lovelace was Corporal in His Majesty's Life-Guard of Horse. (*Mercurius Publicus*, no. 11, March 1661, p. 174.) According to the State Papers, Fras. Loveless was deputy governor of Long Island in 1665, and in 1669 he is mentioned as Governor of New York. A Lieut.-Colonel and a Captain Francis Lovelace, possibly the same man, are included on June 13, 1667, in the 'minutes of commissions for officers in regiments of foot raised or to be raised, 1,000 in a regiment and 100 in each company', a list which also includes Dudley Lovelace. In 1672 Francis Lovelace was still Governor of New York, and on January 11, 1675, a warrant was issued to the Lieutenant of the Tower to receive Col. Lovelace, 'committed for not having defended the colony and fort of New York according to his commission and duty'. A Commitee was appointed in February to examine him, but on April 26 a warrant was issued to Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, 'to release Col. Francis Lovelace, his prisoner, he giving security of 500*l.* to surrender when required, he having fallen dangerously ill of dropsy and being in great want of necessaries'. In 1678 he is mentioned as Governor-

General of the Duke of York's territories in America, and in September 1689 the Duke of Schomberg, writing from Ireland about the bad discipline of his troops, mentions that a Lieut.-Colonel Lovelace behaved in such a manner that he had to arrest him.

One F. L. contributed some verses to Bosworth's *Chast and Lost Lovers*, 1651 (Saintsbury, *Caroline Poets*, vol. ii, pp. 528–9), and it may also be noticed that a Francis Lovelesse, Master of the Ordnance, was one of the prisoners at the surrender of Colchester, August 27, 1648. (John Wright's *Accounts*, September 2, 1648.)

PAGE 3, l. 3. *Pyraustam.* 'Pyrausta is a flie so called from πῦρ ignis; because it lives in the fire, and dieth without it. Plin. lib ii. cap. 36.' (Swan, *Speculum Mundi*, 1635, p. 425.)

Thomas Hamersley matriculated at Peterhouse as a Pensioner in Lent Term, 1628–9, but did not take his degree. His father was Sir Hugh Hamersley, an alderman of London. On August 3, 1629, he was admitted to Gray's Inn and was knighted at Whitehall on August 8, 1641. (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Foster's *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn*, 1889.)

Norreys Jephson matriculated as a Fellow Commoner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in Michaelmas Term, 1637. He did not take a degree. In the Scottish expedition he was an ensign in Jerom Brett's regiment, when Lovelace was an ensign under Goring. (Peacock's *Army Lists*, 1874.) In February 164$\frac{5}{6}$ he was in command of a regiment raised for service in Ireland. (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1645–7, p. 354.) He and Lovelace both wrote verses printed before Beaumont and Fletcher's play *The Wild Goose Chase*, 1652.

PAGE 4, l. 10. *stiver.* A stiver was a small silver coin used in the Low Countries. So two lines later 'in stiver style' means in poor style.

John Jephson. A Captain John Jephson on the Parliamentary side was taken prisoner in Basing Church when Colonel Gage relieved Basing House from Oxford on September 11, 1644. (*A Description of the Siege of Basing Castle*, 1644, p. 15.) William, Norreys (see above), and John were the three sons of Sir John Jephson of Mallow, co. Cork, and of Froyle, Hants, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Norreys.

NOTES. *Pages 5, 6.*

PAGE 5, l. 9. *charmer.* Carew, whose poems were published in 1640.

l. 10. *Tyterus.* Waller.

l. 11. *Sacarissa.* 'Sacharissa (a name which the poet formed, "as he used to say pleasantly," from *sacharum*, sugar), or Lady Dorothy Sidney, was the eldest daughter of Robert, second Earl of Leicester, and Dorothy, daughter of Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland. She was born at Sion House, and baptized October 5, 1617, at Isleworth.' She married Henry, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton—afterwards created Earl of Sunderland and killed at Newbury—on July 20, 1639, when the Sacharissa episode in Waller's life came to an end. (*Poems of Edmund Waller*, G. Thorn Drury, pp. xxiii–xxx.)

l. 16. *interpale.* To interpale is to impale or circle with a garland.

l. 19. *Bayes.* The use of 'Bayes' as singular is common. Compare Charles Cotton elegy on Brome:—

'Whilst Pindar's Bayes grows green amongst the dead',

(*Songs and other Poems.* By Alex Brome Gent, ed. 1668, Sig. a 6 verso) and p. 57, ll. 29–30.

John Pinchbacke Col. Hazlitt suggested that this man was the same as 'old Jack Pinchbacke', mentioned by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange in his *Merry Passages and Jests* as a 'gamester and rufler, daubed with gold lace'. The following may refer to the same:

'Colonel Pinchbacke, an Englishman, and one of the colonels that colonel Blake gave passes to, to come from Scilly into Scotland kissed the King's hand; went as far as Glasgow with him towards England, but is come back hither, declaring much disaffection and dissatisfaction to the enemy's design, and says he will not join any more with them.' Mr Clarke to the Speaker. Stirling. August 19, 1651. (Cary, *Memorials of the Civil War*, ii, 328.)

In the list of Colonels killed on the King's side which is given in *Micro-Chronicon*, 1647, is the entry 'Col. *Pinchback* of Leic:shire, received his deaths-wound at Newbery,' but this can hardly be the author of the verses. No seventeenth-century Pinchbacke is mentioned in Nichols' *Leicestershire.*

PAGE 6. *Villiers Harington L. C.* 'Villiers Harrington aul. Clar.' has English verses before Gower's *Ovid's Festivalls*, 1640, and in *Voces Votivae*, 1640. He matriculated as a Pensioner at Clare Hall in Michaelmas

 Term,

Term, 1638, but does not appear to have taken a degree.

l. 20. *throws.* i. e. The throes or labour of the poets' mind in bringing forth his verse.

l. 21. *those chickens hatcht in furnaces.* Cf. '. . . . to see two sundry Ovens drawne, being full of young Chickens, which are not hatched by their mothers, but in the Furnace. . . . Surely this is an usuall thing, almost through all *Affricke*, which maketh that the Hennes with them are so innumerable every where. (Lithgow's *Totall Discourse*, ed. 1640, pp. 380–1.)

> That you should hatch gold in a fornace, sir,
> As they doe egges, in *Egypt!*
>
> *The Alchemist*, ii. III. 1616, p. 626.

. . . *Egypt* where they use to have so many common Furnaces to hatch Eggs in Camells dung,

> Howell, *A Survay of the Signorie of Venice*, 1651, p. 38.

W. Rudyerd. The only son of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, the politician and poet, to whom Ben Jonson addressed three Epigrams. William Rudyerd of Christ Church has some Latin verses in *Evcharistica Oxoniensia*, 1641.

PAGE 7. l. 10. *Antiperistasis.* The 1649 reading *Antiparisthesis* is doubtless a misprint. Printers' mistakes in Greek words are common. Sir Thomas Browne spells it correctly: . . . 'certain pieces that remaine untoucht, which by an Antiperistasis become more excellent' (*Religio Medici*, ed. 1656, p. 159). So does Thomas Stanley:

> Nature, ignorant of this
> Strange Antiperistasis,
> Would her falling frame admire,
> That by snow were set on fire.
>
> *Poems*, 1651, pp. 36–7.

'Antiparistasis, A cohibition or restraint on euery side; whereby either colde or heat is made stronger in it selfe by the restraining of the contrary: as the naturall heat of our bodies in Winter, through the coldnesse of the aire compassing it about: likewise the coldnesse of the middle region of the aire in Summer, by occasion of the heat on both sides causing thunder and haile, &c. (Holland, *Plutarch's Morals*, 1603, *An Explanation of Sundry Tearmes somewhat obscure*, Sig. Z z z z z.)

l. 18. *Knight o' th' Sun.* The original romance containing the Knight of the Sun is the Spanish *Espejo de*

Principes y Caballeros (1562–89). It was written by Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra in 1562 and published at Saragossa; two other men continued it, Pedro de la Sierra (Alcalá de Henares and Saragossa, 1580) and Márcos Martinez (Alcalá, 1589). The original book, that published in 1562, was translated into English, under the title of *The Mirrour of Knighthood*: it was licensed August 4, 1578, and the first volume appeared in the following year. Nine parts were published in all between 1579 and 1601, making a complete translation. In 1617 the first volume appeared of a French translation by Rosset and Douet, entitled *L'admirable histoire du Chevalier du Soleil*: it finally ran into eight octavo volumes, 1620–6.

The Spanish original is one of the books in Don Quixote's library 'Tomando el Barbaro otro libro, dijo: Este es *Espejo de caballerias*' (bk. i, chap. 6). Jarvis in his translation renders it, 'The Mirror of *Chivalry*', where the English translators said 'Knighthood'.

One of the characters in Massinger's *The Guardian* (1. ii) refers to

. . . that true Spanish story,
The Mirror of Knighthood, which I have read often,
Read feelingly, nay more, I do believe in't,

J. Needler, Hosp. Grayensis. John Needler, son and heir of John Needler of Horley, Surrey, Esq., was admitted to Gray's Inn on November 21, 1634. (Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn.*) He matriculated as a Pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, in Easter Term, 1632, and left the University without taking a degree.

PAGE 8, l. 10. *consistory.* A council of elders or presbyters.

l. 17. *Some that you under sequestration are.* Compare Sedley, whose character of Eugenio may be meant as a portrait of Lovelace;

Fore. . . . his Father made a
Purchase of some Land, that lay next hedge
To mine, and gave a thousand pounds more
Than it was worth, only to buy it over my head:
Think no more on him upon my blessing,
He is not the man he was; he had an Estate,
'Tis now sequester'd, he dare not show his
Head; and besides, I would not have a Son-in-
Law of his principles, for six times his fortune;
I shou'd be sorry to see any Child of mine

Solliciting her Husbands Composition at
A Committee.

The Mulberry-Garden, 1668, pp. 17–18, Act II. i.

ll. 19–20. See *Introduction* as to the presentation of the Kentish Petition in 1642.

Andr. Marvell. These verses seem to indicate that Marvell and Lovelace were friends before the latter and, for that matter, the former as well, went abroad in 1642 or 1643. From the point of view of Marvell's life, the lines are interesting as showing that he must have returned to England before 1649. 'The lines to Lovelace,' says Professor Sir Charles Firth in his article on Andrew Marvell in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, 'together with the stanzas on the execution of the king in the "Horatian Ode", and the satire on the death of Thomas May, have been taken to prove that Marvell's early sympathies were with the royalist cause. They really show that he judged the civil war as a spectator rather than as a partisan, and felt that literature was above parties.' In one of the British Museum copies of *Lucasta* the order of the Commendatory Verses has been altered so as to bring these lines by Marvell directly after the *Dedication*, possibly with the purpose of giving him the place of honour.

PAGE 9. *John Hall* (1627–56) was born at Durham and went to Cambridge in February, 1646. In that year, at the age of nineteen, he published *Horae Vacivae, or Essays* —in which Howell found 'many choice and ripe Notions, which I hope proceed from a pregnancy, rather than precocity of spirit in you'—and a volume of *Poems*. Among his later works are a *Satyre against Presbytery*, 1648, *An Humble Motion to the Parliament of England concerning the Advancement of Learning and Reformation of the Universities*, 1649, which was written because he did not get the advancement at Cambridge in that year which he thought his due, and many political pamphlets on the side of the Parliament. Lovelace contributed to a posthumous translation of Hierocles, in spite of their different political views '. . . had not his debauches and intemperance diverted him from the more serious studies, he had made an extraordinary person; for no man had ever done so great things at his age: So was the opinion of the great Philosopher of *Malmsbury*.' (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, i, p. 456.)

NOTES. *Page* 10.

PAGE 10, ll. 5–8. This story is told not of Apelles and Zeuxes, but of Apelles and Protogenes. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 36, § 11.

'Apelles then, seeing the foresaid table standing before him, tooke a pensill in hand and drew in colour a passing fine and small line through the said table, saying to the woman, Tell thy maister that he who made this line, enquired for him, and so he went his waies. Now when Protogenes was returned home, the old woman made relation unto him of this that happened in his absence. And, as it is reported, the artificer had no sooner seene and beheld the draught of this small line, but he knew who had beene there, and said withall, Surely Apelles is come to towne: for unpossible it is that any but hee should make in colour so fine workmanship. With that he takes me the pensill, and with another colour drew within the same line a smaller than it: willing the woman when he went foorth of dores, that if the partie came againe, she should shew him what he had done, and say withall that there was the man whom hee enquired after. And so it fell out indeed, for Apelles made an errand againe to the shop, and seeing the second line, was dismaied at first and blushed withall to see himselfe thus overcome: but taking his pensill, cut the forsaid lines throughout the length, with a third colour distinct from the rest, and left no roume at all for a fourth to be drawne within it. Which when Protogenes saw, he confessed that hee had met with his match and his maister both, . . .' (Holland's *Pliny*, ii. 538.)

ll. 11–14. This story is told by Pliny of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, not Apelles.

'*Parrhasius* was born at *Ephesus*, he was the first that gave true Symmetry to his Pictures, that best couched the hair of the head, and expressed the lovely grace and beauty about the Mouth and Lips; he was openly bold to challenge *Zeuxis* for the victory in this Art. *Zeuxis* brought upon the Stage a Tablet wherein clusters of Grapes were so lively represented, that the birds of the Air came flocking to them. *Parrhasius* to shew his Workmanship brought a Tablet, wherein he had only depainted a Curtain, but so lively, that *Zeuxis* in a glorious bravery because the Birds had approved of his Handywork, said to him in scorn, Come Sir, away with your Curtain that we may see your goodly Picture; but

 perceiving

perceiving his error he was mightily abashed, yielded him the Victory, and said, *Zeuxis* hath beguiled poor Birds, but *Parrhasius* hath deceived *Zeuxis*, a professed Artist.' (Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World*, 1678, p. 492.)

l. 20. *who Poets once defended.* The *Defence of Poesie* by Sir Philip Sidney was written about 1583 and published in 1595 by William Ponsonby. Henry Olney's edition of the same year has the title *An Apologie for Poetrie.*

l. 25. *Thy seraphique Sydneyan fire.* These were clearly alternative epithets: 'seraphique' was probably the original, 'Sydneyan' intended to replace it and echo 'As Sydneyes Prose' five lines before. On the other hand it is possible that Lenton intended to avoid the echo and that 'seraphique' was the revised epithet. In the circumstances both have been retained in the text, though one is superfluous.

PAGE 11. *Fra. Lenton.* Little is known of Francis Lenton. He held the post, also held by Sir William Davenant, of 'Queenes Poet', under which title he is addressed by Sir Aston Cokain in his *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*, 1621, p. 163, in one of several stupid Epigrams and Anagrams:

It is our grief, our mourning, and thy shame,
That the Queenes Poet, and a man of name,
Should drive *Apollo* from his breast with a
Fine glass of six shillings, or a dish of Whey.

He published a few works between 1630 and 1640, of which the best known is *The Young Gallants Whirligigg: or Youths Reakes. Demonstrating the inordinate affections, absurd actions, and profuse expences, of vnbridled and affectated Youth:* . . . 1629. Of the original edition, which was dedicated to Sir Julius Caesar, whose son was Lovelace's brother-in-law, only three copies are said to exist. It has been reprinted by the Shakespeare Society.

The lines which Lenton contributed to *Lucasta* are interesting as showing what his contemporaries thought of Lovelace as a poet. His poetry is thought to add honour to his 'Chivalry', and his 'careles draughts' are picked out as his best. It may be noticed that, like Marvell and Hall, Francis Lenton was one of Lovelace's political opponents.

PAGE 12. *Thomas Rawlins* (1620?–1670) is better known as a medallist than as a poet. His initials are

 found

found on the coins produced at the Oxford Mint from 1644 to 1646, and during the same time he made many medals and badges for the Royalists. In 1648 he was formally appointed engraver to the Mint, and he appears to have fled to France in the same year. Returning in 1652, he earned a very precarious living till the Restoration, when he was reappointed chief engraver to the Mint. In 1657 he was imprisoned for debt and wrote to Evelyn for help. Evelyn describes him as 'Mr Tho. Rawlins . . . an excellent artist, but debash'd fellow'.

Rawlins published *The Rebellion* in 1640, a play which gained considerable popularity. In 1677 was printed the comedy *Tom Essence, or the Modish Life*, and in the following year *Tunbridge Wells, or a Day's Courtship*, both of which have been attributed to him. He wrote some complimentary verses for *Messallina*, 1640, by Nathaniel Richards. 'A collection of poems called "Calantha" (subjoined to 'Good Friday, being Meditations on that Day', 1648, 8vo) is signed "T.R.", initials which Oldys identified with Thomas Rawlins.' See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* He also has some verses before Tatham's *Mirrour of Fancies*, 1657. Winstanley has the following account of Rawlins:

'*Thomas Rawlins* my old Friend, chief Graver of the Mint to King *Charles* the First, as also to King *Charles* the Second till the Year 1670. in which he died. He was an Excellent Artist, perhaps better than a Poet, yet he was the Author of a Tragedy called *The Rebellion*, which hath been acted not without good Applause; besides some other small things which he wrote.' (*The Lives of the most Famous English Poets*, 1687, p. 169.)

PAGE 13. *Dudley Lovelace.* Dudley Posthumus Lovelace, the poet's youngest brother, cannot have been born before 1627. According to Wood he returned from Holland with Richard and was imprisoned with him in 1648. (See *Introduction.*) After the poet's death he published his *Posthume Poems* in 1659, assisted, it would seem, as he was himself in Holland at that time, by Eldred Revett, two letters from whom to Dudley Lovelace are quoted in the Introduction. His name is printed in *A List of Officers Claiming to the Sixty Thousand Pounds, &c. Granted by His Sacred Majesty for the Relief of His Truly-Loyal and Indigent Party*, 1663, Fol. 27. He is there described as a Captain of Horse under the

 command

command of George Chute. In the *Calendar of State Papers*, (Domestic Series,) June 13, 1667, his name is given as senior Lieutenant in Lieut.-Col. J. Ramsey's regiment. In 1672 he was in America. (See note to p. 2 above.)

According to *Archaeologia Cantiana* (vol. XX) he married a Maria Lovelace, and died about 1686. Mr. G. Thorn-Drury has kindly sent me the following lines from his copy of *Poems, by Eldred Revett* . . . 1657. I have not been able to trace the book for which they were written. If it was ever printed it would almost certainly have contained some lines by Richard Lovelace, but, as no such verses were included by Dudley in his edition of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems*, it is probable that it never was published. It is possible, however, that Lovelace died early in 1657; that Revett's book was not published till the end of the year (see *Introduction*), and that Dudley's book was published between these two events, or even that it was published after Revett's *Poems*.

To Captain D. L. on his book
of Fortification, and
Geometrie.

As yet war not arriv'd at after hight
Was all but merely victory and flight,
And the tough souldier (garrison'd in limb)
Had no retreat of strength to shelter him;
But open lay to where you would assail,
Not to be reacht through trench, or single mail,
Until it grew an Art and Pallas wove,
Her reconciled garlands from one grove,
That now the *Heroe* to new task assign'd
Not more in body labour'd than in mind;
While strength and judgement fights, and wit replies
By counter-stratagem, to batteries,
And thus (friend) you commence, that well apply
To the tame practice, the deep theory,
Teaching us how to measure and how far,
We move proportionably Regular,
How the fields drawn in mystick order lie
Spread with the lines of streight Geometrie:
As the neat Art would into trammel get,
And for the God of War make a new net.

p. 81.

It may be noted that Wood states that the poet

 furnished

furnished Dudley with moneys of his maintenance in Holland, to study tactics and fortification in that school of war. For some lines by Dudley Lovelace on Stanley's *Ayres and Dialogues* see note to p. 169.

l. 17. *Grolla ferox.* Groll is a walled town in the province of Zutphen taken by the Prince of Orange for the States Confederate. Anno 1627. (Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, 1666, Bk. ii. 26.) Groll surrendered on August 26 after a month's siege and after the Comte de Borgh coming to its assistance had twice been repulsed. A full account of the siege is given in *Histoire Generale de la Gverre de Flandre*... par Gabriel Chappvys, ed. 1633, ii, pp. 665–87. The passage where he mentions the death of Sir William Lovelace is quoted in a note to the *Introduction.* See pp. xiv–xv.

PAGE. 14, l. 1. *Quicquid Roma vetus, vel quicquid Græcia jactat.* Compare

> the comparison
> Of all, that insolent Greece, or haughtie Rome sent forth,

Ben Jonson, *Verses contributed to First Folio of Shakespeare*, 1623.

l. 2. *alma Calena.* 'Some there have bin that have attributed the foundation thereof [i.e. Oxford] to Olenus Calenus, a Romane, about 70 years after Christ, and therefore called Calena; but this being exploded by divers judicious authours, I shall not now endeavour to averre it.' (*Survey of Antiquities of Oxford*, by Anthony Wood, Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1889, vol. i, p. 42.)

'"Calena", a pseudo-classical name for Oxford, current in the 16th century; probably originating in the belief that Oxford was the Roman Calleva, with the customary hesitancy between "u" (i.e. "v") and "n" in reading MSS.' (*Ibid.*, note on above passage.)

l. 5. *Dunkerka.* For the story of Lovelace's presence at the siege of Dunkirk see *Introduction.*

l. 21. ἐσσῆν. A rare and late word meaning a 'king-bee'. The Greeks did not know it was a queen.

Jo. Harmarus. John Harmar (1594–1670) 'was a most excellent Philologist, and a tolerable Latine Poet' as well as 'an excellent Greecian of his time'. Educated at Winchester and Magdalen, he took orders and held various posts, 'Usher of the School joyning to his College', chief Master of the Free-school at S. Albans, under-Master of

 the

the College school at Westminster, King's Greek Professor at Oxford, and Rector of the Donative of Ewhurst in Hampshire. He lost his employments at the Restoration, and retired to Steventon in Hampshire, where he died. He wrote a number of schoolbooks, orations, and Greek and Latin poems and translations, among the last being one or more of the plays of Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, 'for which he was well rewarded'. (*Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, ii, 347–9.) Herrick has some lines to him (*Hesperides*, 1648, p. 357), and Harmar was no doubt the J. H. C. W. M. who wrote the lines under Marshall's portrait of Herrick. He also contributed verses to Hannay's *The Nightingale* in 1622 and to Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*, 1640. There is a Latin letter 'Scripsit I. H. C. W. M.' before *Pathomyotomia or a Dissection of the significative Muscles of the Affections of the Minde*, Jo(hn) B(ulwer), 1649. Harmar's portrait is in the Bodleian.

PAGE 15. *To Lucasta, Going beyond the Seas.* In this poem Lovelace gives expression to one development of the fashionable theory of 'Platonic Love' to which there are many references in seventeenth-century literature. Lovel in Ben Jonson's *The New Inn*, 1631, gives a seasoned exposition of the

> . . . spiritual cupling of two Souls,
> So much more excellent, as it least relates
> Unto the Body:

Suckling has a jeer at the theory in *Aglaura*, 1638, 'A meere trick to inhance the price of kisses'; Thomas Killigrew has more than one allusion in *The Parson's Wedding* (published in 1664, but largely written before 1642) to 'the spiritual Non-sence the age calls *Platonick* Love'; the anonymous comedy of *Lady Alimony*, 1659, which ridicules the fashion, calls the Alimony Ladies and their Confidents 'Platonicks', a name which later came into general use; Davenant, on whom there is an attack in the Introduction to *Lady Alimony*, treats the same theme more seriously in *The Platonick Lovers*, 1636, as he had already done two years previously in the masque of *The Temple of Love* to which James Howell referred when he wrote in 1634, 'The Court affords little news at present, but that ther is a Love call'd *Platonic* love, which much swayes there of late: It is a love abstracted from all corporeall grosse impressions, and sensuall appetit, but consists in contemplation and Idæas of the mind, not

in any carnal fruition: This love sets the wits of the Town on work, and they say ther will be a Mask shortly of it, wherof Her Majestie, and Her Maids of Honour will be part'. (*Familiar Letters*, Sect. 6, 1645, v, p. 29.) Donne has some verses on the same theory in 'A Valediction forbidding mourning' (*Poems*, 1633, p. 164 (i. e. 194)). Herbert of Cherbury wrote three poems called 'Platonick Love' (*Occasional Verses*, 1665, pp. 71–4, 79–82). Cartwright ridiculed this 'refined' love in 'No Platonique Love' (*Comedies*, &c. 1651, ii, p. 246), &c. Jenkyn has the following verses:

1

To Amorea on his going to Travell

If that my Travell were to be so far,
(My only starre)
To come again no more,
Then well *I* might implore,
Pardon from *Cupid*, and loves deitie,
For the offence *I*'ve done to Love, and thee.

2

Yet *Amorea* be but pleased now
To take this vow,
If Fortune be my friend,
To grant a happy end
Unto my journey; offer up *I* shall,
To thy blest shrine, my vows, my self, and all.

3

But if *I* never do return,
Alas I mourn,
For her *I* left behind,
Yet dearest be so kind,
Only to think, *I* only for your sake,
This journey with my death did undertake.

Amorea, 1661, pp. 40–1.

Mr. Henry Lawes. Henry Lawes (1596–1662) was the younger and more famous of the two brothers. He composed the music for *Comus* in 1634, and is said to have taken the part of the 'Attendant Spirit' himself. He also wrote the music for Carew's masque *Coelum Britannicum*. Many of his printed songs are to be found in *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1653, 1655, and 1658; Playford's *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues*, 1652, 1653, and 1659, and in *The Treasury of Musick*, 1669. In 1626

 he

he was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and Clerk of the Cheque to Charles the First. His setting is reproduced in this edition.

ll. 17–18.

Above the highest sphere wee meet
Unseene, unknowne, and greet as Angels greet.

Compare Randolph's 'A Platonick Elegie', Carew's 'To my Mistris in absence', etc.

PAGE 16. *Mr. John Laniere.* John Laniere (d. 1650) was the eldest son of Nicholas Laniere, who was musician to Queen Elizabeth in 1581, and cousin of the better known Nicholas Laniere. Like all his family John was a musician in the service of the Crown. *D.N.B.* His setting of this song does not appear to be in existence.

ll. 8–9. *Nunnerie*
Of thy chaste breast.

Compare Habington, 'To Roses in the Bosome of Castara':

Yee blushing Virgins happie are
In the chaste Nunn'ry of her brests,
Castara, ed. 1640, p. 3.

and . . . you have ta'ne
Two noble *Warriours Captives* in your breast,
. . . oh blest *captive* he
That 's pris'ner in so chaste a Nunnerie!
N. H(ookes), *Amanda*, 1653, p. 114.

ll. 16–17. *As you too shall adore;*
I could not love thee (*Deare*) *so much,*

Lovelace appears to aim at a definite effect in his change from the formal 'you' to the more familiar 'thee', but the singular and plural were sometimes used indifferently. Compare *Henry VIII*, act. III, ii, fo. 1623, ii, p. 222:

Sur. By my Soule,
Your long Coat (Priest) protects you,
Thou should'st feele
My Sword i'th' life blood of thee else.

Dr. Johnson himself was guilty of a manner of speech which Sir Arthur Quiller Couch took the liberty of silently correcting in the case of Lovelace in the *Oxford Book of English Verse*:—'After we had again talked of my setting out for Holland, he said, "I must see thee out of England; I will accompany you to Harwich'".
Boswell, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, i. 462.

l. 18. *Lov'd I not Honour more.* Compare *The Humourous Lieutenant*, i. 2:

Dem. The Drums beat,
I can no longer stay.
Cel. They do but call yet:
How faine you would leave my company.
Dem. I wou'd not,
Unlesse a greater power than love commanded,
Commands my life, mine honour.

and T. W., 'A Dialogue Betwixt a Cavalier and a Lady':

Cav. No more:
The God which Souldiers most adore,
Great Honour, bids me use my might,
For Reputation first, and then delight.
(*Chor.*)
Tyranny Honor makes the brave
And noblest mind the greatest slave,
Where ever he commands, we go,
And leave our dearest friend to meet a foe.
Songs and Poems, 1654, p. 55.

If Sedley intended the character of Eugenio in *The Mulberry Garden* as a portrait of Lovelace, he probably had this song in mind when he gave Eugenio the lines,

Now thou hast touch'd me in the tendrest part,
Though Love possess, Honour must rule my heart;
1668, p. 35.

PAGE 17, l. 19. *Heav'nly Sydney.* Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* was published in 1590.

PAGE 18. *Song. . . . To Amarantha, That she would dishevell her haire.* The first four stanzas of this poem, printed as two, were included in Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter, The English Parnassus*, 1655. In the second edition of 1662, they were given the title of 'Amarantha *counselled*'. As suggested by Hazlitt, Cotgrave no doubt used Playford's *Ayres and Dialogues*, rather than *Lucasta.*

Set by Mr. Henry Lawes. This setting is reproduced. It was printed in *Ayres and Dialogues, For One, Two, and Three Voyces. By Henry Lawes Servant to his late Ma:tie in his publick and private Musick. The First Booke. London, Printed by T. H. for John Playford, . . .* 1653. The MS. is in Dr. Cooper Smith's volume of Henry Lawes' songs.

l. 2. *Ah brade no more that shining haire!* Compare

 Jenkyn's

Jenkyn's *Amorea*, p. 4, 'Brade no more that Auborn hayre, . . .' See note to p. 50.

l. 16. *But shake your head and scatter day.* Cf. William Browne (ed. G. Goodwin, 1893, vol. ii, p. 195):

So sometimes the amorous air
Doth with your fair locks play,
And unclouds a golden hair;
And then breaks forth the day.

PAGE 20, l. 24. *Fall too againe.* The spellings 'to' and 'too' were often used indifferently. Compare p. 159, l. 25 below and

This Field-bed is to cold for me to sleepe,

Romeo and Juliet, II. i. So undated quarto and 1623 folio. Quartos of 1597 and 1599 read 'too cold'.

I was to violent
(Jonson, *The Foxe*, fo. 1616, p. 520.)

I knew them all, ile too him,
Father. I'le too him with no Law,

Heywood, *The Wise Woman of Hogsden*, 1638, Sig. G 2.

3 *Goss.* And now I'le tell you Gossip, she 's too free.
4 *Goss.* To free?

Middleton, *A Chast Mayd in Cheape-side*, 1630, p. 34.

O. Fost. What Idoll kneeles that heretique too.

W. Rowley, *A New Wonder, A Woman never vext*, 1632, p. 45.

. . . you have a great many Bags, and a great many buildings to sir.

Brewer, *The Country Girle*, 1647, Sig. E 3.

Eust. Then put it too most voyces.

Heywood, *The Foure Prentises of London*, ed. 1632, Sig. L1.

PAGE 21. *Mr. Hudson.* The identity of this Hudson is uncertain. He was probably an amateur musician and friend of Lovelace, possibly the same as the Mr. George Hudson mentioned with Doctor Charles Colman, Captain Henry Cook, and Mr. Henry Lawes as having composed the music for a Masque by Davenant (ed. 1673, p. 359). Playford's *Court Ayres*, 1655, contains some music by him. The two brothers Robert and Thomas Hudson, musicians of the Chapel Royal to James VI, were probably dead before the earliest date that Lovelace could have composed this poem.

ll. 1–6. Compare Marston:

Her. All things under the Moone are subject to their mistris grace; horns, lend me your ring my *Don*, Ile put

it on my finger, now tis on yours againe, why is the gold now ere the worse in lustre or fitnesse? (*The Fawne*, act II, sc. i, ed. 1633, Sig. T 3.)

l. 2. *And Crowne mine with't awhile.*

Compare . . . he won my hand,
To crowne his finger with that hoope of gold.
North-Ward Hoe, 1607, Sig. B 3 verso.

Dr. John Wilson. Dr. John Wilson (1595–1674 in) *D.N.B.* was considered the best lutenist in England, and was a great favourite with Charles I. As a boy he is supposed to have sung 'Sigh no more ladies', and 'Take oh take those lips away' in some of the early performances of *Much Ado.* The 1600 quarto of the play gives the stage direction 'Enter Balthaser with musicke'. In the folio of 1623 the direction is 'Enter Prince, Leonato, Claudio and Iacke Wilson'. This identification, however, is doubtful. Wilson's works are scattered through Playford's and Hilton's publications, and he himself published *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads* in 1660, 'the first Essay . . . of printing Musick that ever was in Oxford'. In that year he was Professor of Musick at the University. He early acquired a considerable reputation and was employed to write the music for *The Maske of Flowers*, 1613, before he was twenty. Wood speaks of him as 'the greatest and most curious Judge of Musick that ever was', but he made his name by his skill as lutenist and singer. Herrick mentions him in some lines '*To M.* Henry Lawes, *the excellent Composer of his Lyricks*'.

Touch but thy Lire (my *Harrie*) and I heare
From thee some raptures of the rare *Gotire*,
Then if thy voice commingle with the String
I heare in thee the rare *Laniere* to sing;
Or curious *Wilson*:
Hesperides, 1648, p. 326.

I have not found the setting to this song.

PAGE 22, ll. 2–3. *The Grief of pale Aurora,*
Who will contest no more;

Aurora, pale with envy, despairs of matching the rose.

PAGE 23, l. 22. *such a way.* Compare Suckling's 'A Ballade. Upon a Wedding':

But oh! she dances such a way!
No Sun upon an Easter day
Is half so fine a sight.
Fragmenta Aurea, 1646, p. 38.

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PAGE 24. *The Scrutinie.* This was one of the most popular of Lovelace's songs. It was included in Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter*, 1655, the title of 'To his Mistress, who unjustly taxed him of leaving her off', being added in the second edition of 1662. A 'Reply' was written to it:

Reply

I sweare hadst thou not bin forsworne
  When Mine thou vow'dst to bee
Or had that night bin long, e're Morne
  It had bin impossible for mee
  for to haue seene thy Periurye.

One Howre to loue thee were too longe
  A too too tedious space
And I should much my beauty wronge
  to take delight in thy imbrace
  unless thou hadst a better face.

The Joyes wch are in my Browne hayre
  Thou neuer yet hast found
And they are fooles both black & fayre
  That suffer thee to Plough their Ground
  Or their rich virgins Mines to sound.

Goe prethee loue the whole world round
  Soe that thou wilt leaue mee
With any Spoyles if thou art Crown'd
  Of meanest Beautyes it must bee
  And they soon Sated too with thee.

Mr. Hen. Ventrice.

These lines follow a MS. transcript of Charles's setting of 'The Scrutinie', in the British Museum Additional MS. 29396, f. 38. Almost the whole of the MS. is in the hand of Edward Lawe, organist of the Chapel Royal (1661–82). (See *Catalogue of Manuscript Music*, by A. Hughes-Hughes, 1908, vol. ii, pp. 478–9.) There is a second MS. copy of 'The Scrutinie' in the British Museum (Additional MSS. 31813) which dates from the late 18th century. Compare Brome's 'To his Mistress':

When all the *World* I've rang'd about,
  All *beauties* else to spy,
And, at the last, can find none out,
  Epual to thee in beauty; I
    Will make thee my sole *Deity*.

Songs and other Poems, ed. 1664, p. 39.

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The Scrutinie was directly imitated by Jenkyn:

I cannot say you are forsworn,
  Since you have proved true,
And yet I think my self forlorn,
  When by your actions still *I* view,
Your fancy 's ranging for a new.

'Tis true, you loved me a while,
  But soon your love was cold,
Then think no more on Beauties guile,
  For your embraces are grown old,
And have no force my heart to hold.

I see the Treasures of that face,
  Which once *I* doted on
Is to be found in every place,
  And all the fleeting graces gone,
There 's nothing left to look upon.

Yet when you 'ave seen the worlds store,
  And where the Beauties be,
Reclaim your self, *I*le ask no more,
  But am content the spoiles to see
Alone devoted unto me.

Amorea, 1661, p. 44.

Henry Bold translated it into Latin:

CANT. VII.

I.

Cur fore dicis perjurum,
  Tuum voventem me?
Diescit ecce Iamjudum,
  Ac promittebam vesperè,
  Hoc vanum Impossibile.

II.

Multum diúq; amabam,
  (Diei spatium,)
Aliis ferrem Injuriam,
  Ac Impedirem coitum,
  Adamans te perpetuùm.

III.

Sed tamen Crines nigelli,
  Perplaceant aliis,
Atri, mihi, ac Pulchelli:
  Sic fodiunt, pro copiis,
  Terris prorsùs incognitis.

IV.

At circum cùm vagavero,
  Si Bellam præstes te,
Spoliis onustus adero,
  Gaudens ad te revertere,
  Satiatus varietate.

Latine Songs, 1685, p. 25.

Another of the same.

CANT. VII.

Cur me perjurum dicis esse,
  Cùm tuum me devovi?
Auroram vides nunc adesse,
  Hesternà nocte id promovi,
  Quod impossibile jam novi.

II.

Non bis sex horæ tibi lætæ,
  Quàm diu vis amarem?
Cæteræ viderentur Spretæ,
  Novi amplexu deprivarem,
  Si te constanter honorarem.

III.

In te fatebo admiranda
  Satis reperiuntur,
Sed Alba Nigra sunt scrutanda,
  Terræ infossæ evolvuntur,
  Hinc Mineralia Effodiuntur.

IV.

Cùm sim per Circulum vagatus,
  Si tu sis magis grata,
Minorum Spoliis Coronatus,
  Anima redit onerata,
  Copiâ suavi satiata!

Ibid., pp. 26–7.

Set by Mr. Thomas Charles. The song was printed in Playford's *Select Musicall Ayres, and Dialogues, For one and two Voyces, to sing to the Theorbo, Lute, or Basse Violl . . . London, . . . 1652.* In the 'Table of the Ayres' it is simply called 'French Ayre', but in *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues, in Three Bookes . . . London, . . . 1653*—from which the reproduction is taken (Bodl. Wood. 397.)—the music, as here, is attributed to 'Mr. Charles'. The

volume of 1652 omits the last line of the poem. In *Select Ayres and Dialogues For One, Two, and Three Voyces; To the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol . . . 1659*, the same setting to the song, there called *Loves Scrutiny*, is attributed to 'Mr. Henry Lawes'.

PAGE 25. *Princesse Löysa.* At the end of one of the two copies of *Lucasta* which he left to the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce noted that 'Princesse Löysa', daughter of the king of Bohemia (& grand-daughter of our James I[st]), was taught by her mother's favourite painter, Gerard Honthorst. He refers to Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. 1782, ii, 196. The passage referred to is a note on the following sentence in the life of Gerard Honthorst.

'But his greatest honour was instructing the Queen of Bohemia and her children, among whom the Princess Sophia and the Abbess of Maubisson chiefly distinguished themselves.' The note runs:

'De Piles. Of the Princess Sophia there is a portrait in a straw hat by Honthorst, at Wilton, natural, but not very good.

'The other Princess was Louisa Hollandina, who practised that art with success. Two pictures painted by her were in the collection of her uncle King Charles. See catal., p. 53, No. 70, 71.

'One of them is at Kensington, Tobit and the Angel in water-colours, but now quite spoiled. There is also an altar-piece painted in oil by her in the church of the Jacobins at Paris, with her name to it.

'In Lovelace's Lucasta is a poem on Princess Loysa drawing, p. 17. She was bred a protestant, but in 1664, went to Paris, turned catholic and was made Abbess of Maubisson. She died in 1709 at the age of eighty six.'

Lovelace probably met Princess Louise at the Hague. She was certainly acquainted with the Gorings.

l. 1. *Diety.* An obsolete but correct spelling. Compare p. 88, l. 12.

l. 8. *ith' coole oth' Sunne.* The forms 'ith'', 'oth'', 'toth'' are correct, but were beginning to drop out of use about the middle of the seventeenth century. They are not always used in Lovelace and they seldom occur, for instance, in the publications of Humphrey Moseley.

l. 9. *her delight.* Narcissus. Cupid had betrayed

Echo as Narcissus did not return her love. See Sandy's *Ovid*, 1626, bk. iii, pp. 54–5.

l. 19. *then wafts his faire*; 'Waft. To beckon with the hand.' (Halliwell's *Dictionary*.) Compare:

> *Loren.* In such a night
> Stood *Dido* with a Willow in her hand
> Vpon the wilde sea bankes, and waft her Loue
> To come againe to Carthage.
>
> *The Merchant of Venice*, v. i.

'. . . the haire about the Hat is as good as a flag uppo' th' pole at a common Play-house to waft company,'. . . (Middleton, *A Mad World my Masters*, ed. 1640, Sig. G 2).

l. 22. *Anaxerete.* Iphis hanged himself when disdained by Anaxerete. Watching his funeral procession:

> her stonie heart
> It selfe dilated into euery part.
> This *Salamis* yet keepes, to cleare your doubt,
> In *Venus* temple; call'd, the *Looker-out.*
>
> Sandys's *Ovid*, 1626, xiv, p. 301.

l. 27. *Leucothoë* was buried alive by her father when he heard of her amour with Apollo. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 70–1.

PAGE 27. *Princesse Katherine.* The lines were contributed by Lovelace at the age of twenty to *Musarum Oxoniensium Charisteria Pro Serenissima Regina Maria, Recens E Nixus Laboriosi discrimine receptâ. Oxoniæ. Typis Leonard. Lichfield Academiae Typographi* M.DC.XXXVIII, and are there signed 'Rich. Lovelace. Mag. Art. A. Glouc. fil. Guil. Lovelace Eq. Aur. Nat. Max.'

As Lovelace had taken his degree two years earlier he was probably not in Oxford in 1638, and this is borne out by the fact that the book was originally issued without his contribution which is not found in all copies. It was inserted on a special sheet bb with poems by A. Nevill of University, Franc. Atkins of Wadham, H. C. of Magdalen, and Ed. Gray of Christ Church, between sheets b and c in the second part of the book. That this sheet was an afterthought is proved not only by the signature, but also by the catchword 'Seduce' on b 4 verso. In the first part of the book, which contains Latin verses, there is a sheet DD after D which is also not found in all copies, being in all probability added at the same time as the other sheet. It would seem to show that Lovelace had obtained some reputation as a poet at the University if it was considered desirable to obtain a special contribution

from him to an Oxford book of verse when he had been away for two years.

'On Sunday [January 20] morning last Her Majesty was brought to bed with a daughter, who lived to be christened Princess Katherine and then died; this child is said to have gone nearer to the Queen than ever any yet did but she is indifferently well: . . .' (*Calendar of State Papers* (*Domestic Series*) 163$\frac{8}{9}$ January 24.)

l. 16. *then the ground.* It is unnecessary to adopt the reading of *Charisteria* here and insert 'to', as Lovelace uses 'ayre', as a dissyllable. The *North American Review*, July, 1864, points out a similar use of the word in *The Toad and Spyder*, and in the lines to Thomas Stanley, pp. 152, l. 12, and 169, l. 19.

l. 20. *And showe's.* i.e. 'Show us'.

PAGE 28, l. 6. The word 'like' has dropped out in some copies (e.g. British Museum 238, b, 52), and is omitted by both Singer and the reprint in Hutchinson's Popular Classics.

PAGE 29. *Set by Mr. Henry Lawes.* Lawes' setting of this song is taken from Dr. Cooper Smith's MS. I have not been able to find it in print.

PAGE 30. *A loose Saraband.* Compan gives the following account of the Saraband in his *Dictionaire de Danse*, 1787, pp. 346–7:

'Sarabande Espèce de Danse grave, qui paroît nous être venue d'Espagne. Elle se dansoit autrefois avec des Castagnettes. La *Sarabande*, à le bien prendre, n'est qu'un Menuet dont le mouvement est grave, lent & sérieux. M. des Yveteaux, mourant à Paris à l'âge de plus de 80 ans, fit jouer une *Sarabande*, afin, disoit-il, que son âme passât plus doucement. Elle a été ainsi nommée, selon quelques-uns, à cause d'une Comédienne appellée *Sarabanda*, qui la dansa la première en France. Selon d'autres, la *Sarabanda* est venue des *Sarasins*, aussi bien que la Chaconne. D'autres enfin, croyent que ce nom vient de *Saras* qui, en Espagnol, signifie *Bal*. On la danse ordinairement en Espagne au son de la guitarre. Elle a un mouvement qui est gai & amoreux.'

Compare p. 123, l. 12, and p. 130.

Set by Mr. Henry Lawes. I have not been able to find the setting to this song. It is noticeable that Dr. Cooper Smith's MS. includes the three other songs which are said to have been put to music by Henry Lawes and a fourth as well, the poem *To Ellinda*. It is possible that this song was attributed to Lawes in mistake for the other.

l. 5. *purchase.* In *A Notable Discouery of Coosnage*, 1591, Robert Greene gives a list of terms, 'being proper to none but to the professors thereof', used by the cony-catchers of his day. 'In Coni-catching law the money that is won' is called Purchase (ed. Grosart, vol. x, p. 38). The word in the sense of 'prize' or 'loot' is, however, common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Compare:

. . . where 's our *Port-mantua*. . . . .
Fol. In with the purchase,

Middleton, *A Mad World my Masters*, ed. 1640, Sig. D3.

. . . you'll pardon my dissembling, since only the Hopes of so great a Purchase cou'd cause it. (Farquhar, *Love and a Bottle*, v. iii.)

and *Comus*, ll. 606–7:

I'll find him out,
And force him to return his purchase back.

l. 17. *false beliefe.* Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher:

When ever you love, a false beliefe light on ye.
The Loyall Subject, 1647, IV. iii, Sig. Fff 2.

l. 19. *morning-Cushionet.* '. . . he understood she had afterwards put the latter Letter in her bosom, and the first in her Coshionet, . . .' (Howell's *Familiar Letters*, 1645, Sect. 4, iii, p.13.) *N. E. D.* quotes: Closer set With sharp distinctions than a cushionet With pins and needles.' (H. More, *Song of Soul*, I. II. lxxvi.)

PAGE 31, l. 2. *rac'd.* Pricked.

l. 11. *sleave-silke.* 'Silke thread capable of being seperated into smaller filaments for use in embroidery.' *N. E. D.* Compare Donne's *The Baite* (ed. 1639, p. 40).

Or curious traitors, sleave silke flies
Bewitch poore fishes wandring eyes.

PAGE 33. *Set by Mr. Curtes.* In Wood's *Life and Times* (Oxford Historical Society), vol. i, p. 205, there is a reference to Curtes, with no Christian name, 'a Lutinist lately ejected from some choir or Cathedral church. After his Majesty's restoration, he became gent. or singing-man at Christ Church in Oxon.' He is one of the people who took part in the weekly meetings of musicians, referred to by Wood on the previous page (p. 204) as taking place in a house 'opposite to that place whereon the Theatre was built'. No further record of him seems to exist.

l. 24. *And Musick of her face.* Cf. Byron:

. . . the Music breathing from her face,
Bride of Abydos, l. 180.

and his note defending the expression.

 Compare

Compare also Cleveland, ed. 1651, p. 6.

Or can the sight be deaf, if she but speak,
A well-tun'd face such moving Rhetorick?

and Randolph, ed. 1638, p. 11.

Yet ne'er was face so out of tune,

and Carew's *Poems*, ed. 1651, p. 73.

The harmonie of colours, features, grace,
Resulting Ayres (the magique of a face)
Of musicall sweet tunes, all which combin'd,
To crown one Soveraign beauty, lies confin'd
To this darke Vault.

PAGE 34. *The Grasse-hopper.* Compare:

Casimire *Ode* the 23d *Book* the 4th.
To the Grasshopper.

I.

Blest Epicure of Race Divine,
Who, drunk with Heavens dewy Wine,
On some cool shady Tree dost sit,
And sing upon the top of it;
Whilst with the chearful Musick of thy voice
Thou mak'st thy self, and silent Woods rejoyce.

II.

Now since the tedious Winter 's past,
And welcome Summer 's come at last
(Which with swift Wheels still hurries on,
And still is eager to be gone)
Chide the Sun's hast, with mirth the day prolong,
Make *Phoebus* stop his course to hear thy Song.

III.

As the most happy glorious day
Just brings it self, and shews us joy;
So bliss but smiles on us, and then
Snatches its self away ag'en:
Our empty joys too fleeting still appear,
But solid griefs too long and tedious are.

Miscellany Poems and Translations By Oxford Hands, 1685, p. 81.

Casimire is Matthew Casimire Sarbiewski or Sarbievius, many of whose Odes, but not this one, were translated by G. H(ils) in 1646.

Mr. Charles Cotton. Charles Cotton, the poet, for whose

 marriage

marriage Lovelace wrote *The Triumphs of Philamore and Amoret.* See p. 155 and note.

ll. 13–14. Cf. Cowley's grasshopper in his tenth Anacreontique.

> Happy *Insect* what can be
> In Happiness compar'd to thee?
> Fed with nourishment divine,
> The dewy *Morning's* gentle *Wine*!
> *Nature* waits upon thee still,
> And thy verdant Cup does fill;
> 'Tis fill'd wherever thou dost tread,
> *Natures* selfe's *thy Ganymed.*
> Thou dost drink, and dance, and sing;
> Happier than the happiest King! . . .

and Stanley's translation of Anacreon

> Grasshopper thrice-happy! who
> Sipping the cool morning dew,
> Queen-like chirpest all the day
> Seated on some verdant spray;
> ed. 1651, p. 23.

l. 13. *Drunke ev'ry night with a Delicious teare.* 'The Stellions after a sort be of the nature of Chamælions living only upon dew and spiders. Grashoppers also live much after the same manner . . . they have a certaine sharpe pointed thing in their breast . . . and with it they sucke and licke in the dew.' (Holland's *Pliny*, i. 325.)

PAGE 35, ll. 7–8. If, as has been suggested by Professor H. J. C. Grierson, Lovelace intended these lines to mean that the grasshopper makes men and himself merry and Melancholy flows away, he chose a very obscure way of saying it. The equally possible interpretation is more likely to be right; the lines are grammatical and make sense if 'streames' is a noun and if in reading them a slight pause is made between the words 'merry' and 'men'. We then understand that the grasshopper makes men, himself and 'Melancholy streames' (perhaps those in which Cotton fished) merry. The capital letter to 'Melancholy' is no objection to this interpretation; in the third line of the poem we find a 'Delicious teare' and both examples are ordinary instances of the use of the emphasis capital.

PAGE 36, ll. 5–8. This stanza is involved. The meaning would seem to be that 'just as Hesperus shines clearer as

 the

the day draws to a close, so will our tapers whip Night from the lighted casements of the room where we amuse ourselves, and, by stripping her black mantle from the dark Hagge, put everlasting day in the place of Night'. It might be objected that the evening star is the harbinger of night and consequently not the best comparison for tapers which drive out night and turn the darkness into day, but Lovelace was thinking of the star which becomes brightest as the darkness comes on. It is just possible that he wrote 'Night *and* clear Hesper', meaning that Night and even the clear light of the evening star will be driven out by a brightness which rivals the daylight.

Set by Mr. John Gamble. The date of Gamble's birth is not known, but he died 'advanced in years' in 1687. After being apprenticed to Beyland, one of Charles the First's violinists, he played at a London theatre. (*D. N. B.*) In 1656 he published *Ayres and Dialogues* (*To be Sung to the Theorbo-Lute or Base-Violl*) *by John Gamble . . . London, Printed by William Godbid, for the Author, 1656.* There was a second edition of this book *Printed by W. Godbid for Humphry Mosley at the Princes-Arms In St Paul's Church-yard, 1657.* The poems in this volume, to which Lovelace contributed some verses, are by Stanley. (See p. 169.) It brought Gamble considerable fame and Wood was 'proud to entertain' him in July, 1658. In 1659 he published *Ayres and Dialogues For One, Two, and Three Voyces; To be sung either to the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol. Composed by John Gamble. . . . The Second Book. London, Printed by W. Godbid for Nathaniel Ekin at the Gun in S^t. Pauls Church-yard. 1659.*

On the Restoration Gamble was admitted to the King's Household and is said to have played the violin in the King's band. *D. N. B.*

The reproduction of this setting is taken from the second book of *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1659. This volume corrects the misprint in *Lucasta* which gives ll. 5–6 to *Chorus.*

PAGE 37, l. 15. *Bannerets.* 'Originally, a knight able and entitled to bring a company of vassals into the field under his own banner, . . .Subsequently, the title and rank were conferred for valiant deeds done in the King's presence on the field of battle.' *N. E. D.* It was 'in respect of my rank as a Banneret, dubbed in a field of stricken battle', that Sir Dugald Dalgetty intended to claim precedence over all other knights.

PAGE 38. After l. 8. *Chorus*, i.e. 'Chorus again, Vaine dreames', &c.

ll. 15–16. Lovelace occasionally uses a bare assonance for a rime. For a more extraordinary example compare p. 82, ll. 1–2.

PAGE 39. *To Ellinda. That lately I have not written.* Cf. p. 72, ll. 9–10.

PAGE 40. *William Lawes.* I have not been able to find the setting to this or either of the next two songs.

William Lawes was the elder of the two brothers and was one of the Musicians in Ordinary to Charles I. He joined the Royalist army on the outbreak of the Civil War, 'was made a commissary by Lord Gerrard, to exempt him from danger, but his active spirit disdaining that security, he was killed by a stray shot during the siege of Chester 1645'. (Grove's *Dictionary*.) Many poets wrote elegies on him. Herrick has one *Upon M. William Lawes the rare Musitian*; Thomas Jordan in *The Muses Melody in a Consort of Poetrie* has *An Epitaph on Mr. Will. Lawes Batchelor in Musick, who was mortally shot at the siege of Westchester*; Tatham in *Ostella* has some lines *On the Report of Master William Lawes his Death*; Robert Heath has an elegy on him in *Clarastella*.

l. 8. *incessantly.* Immediately. Besides this passage *N. E. D.* quotes from Congreve's *Way of the World*, 1700, v. viii. 'If I see him I fear I shall turn to Stone, and petrifie incessantly.'

ll. 13–14.

Of both those Stars, of which their Spheres bereft
Only the Gellie's left:

An allusion to the belief that shooting stars became jellies on falling to the earth. Compare p. 128, ll. 26–7, and p. 143, l. 17, and Dryden's Dedication of *The Spanish Fryar*, 1681. 'I have sometimes wonder'd, in the reading, what was become of those glaring Colours which amaz'd me in *Bussy Damboys* upon the Theatre: but when I had taken up what I suppos'd, a fallen Star, I found I had been cozen'd with a Jelly: nothing but a cold dull mass, which glitter'd no longer than it was shooting: . . . .' Donne writes:

As he that sees a starre fall, runs apace,
And findes a gellie in the place,

Poems, 1633, p. 133.

PAGE 41. *Lucasta Weeping.* Compare Tatham's *Crying and Laughing*:—

Phelicia wept. and from her eys.
the *Pearly show'rs* did fall
Upon her Cheeks, and straight did rise
the *Sun*, and drank up all.

Ostella, 1650, p. 77.

and Jenkyn:

Clariana's Dream

1.

Clariana slept, and as she slept,
The God of Night stood by;
The God of Love for anger wept,
That he could not be nigh.

2.

Clariana wept, and weeping cry'd
(O'rewhelmed with her care,)
What hast thou ask'd, that I deny'd,
Speak *Hespelon* my dear.

3.

Clariana wak'd, and waking found
That all was but a Dream,
She sigh't, and fell into a sound,
But ne're reviv'd again.

Amorea, 1661, p. 61.

This poem was not included in the Table of the Contents of *Lucasta*.

PAGE 42. *The Vintage to the Dungeon.* This song may have been composed at the same time as *To Althea. From Prison.* It cannot have been written during the poet's second confinement, as William Lawes was killed in 1645.

PAGE 43. *Elizabeth Filmer.* Sir Edward Filmer (d. 1629) 'had issue by his wife [Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Argall and his wife Mary] . . . who died on Aug. 9, 1638, nine sons and nine daughters', one of whom was named Elizabeth. (Hasted, *History of Kent*, 1782, vol. ii, p. 418.)

l. 24. *her Complexion.* Cf. Jordan:

Youth mix'd with mental beauty, she was one
That made all Vertues her Complexion.

The Muses Melody in a Consert of Poetrie. Sig. □ □ 4.

and Strode:

Her soule was like her body; both so cleare
As that a brighter eye than mans must peere
To finde a Blott;

Poetical Works, ed. B. Dobell, 1907, p. 82.

 PAGE 44,

NOTES. *Pages* 44–7.

PAGE 44, l. 4. *Filmer is shot by which they steer'd.* Cf. Jenkyn:

For gon's the Star, and North, by which you stear'd,

and the whole of his 'Elegie on the Death of the Princess Royal'. (*Amorea*, 1661, pp. 53–4.)

ll. 17–20. The meaning is 'I do not ask liberty from my prison but of thee, Lucasta, whose prisoner I have long been, in order that leaving thee for awhile I may be able to turn my fancy to anything else'.

PAGE 46, l. 5. *The Publicke Faith.* Money was borrowed on the Publick Faith, a common object of satire. Cf. Cleveland's lines with that title, 1659, p. 89, and *Hudibras*, ii. 2, ll. 191–6.

l. 21. *thy glorious Starry Waine* . . . 'neither do we find any Celestiall sign, Star or Planet, whose influence hath been honoured with so rare and excellent an *Epitheton* as God himself is pleas'd to attribute in holy Writ to the *Pleiades*, seven *Stars*, or *Charls's Wain*, stiling the influences thereof sweet and most mellifluous, shewing also the impossibility for any humane power to restrain the same, *Job* 38. 31.' (*The Most Gloriovs Star, Or Celestial Constellation Of The Pleiades, or Charles Waine. Appearing, And shining most brightly in a Miraculous manner in the Face of the Sun at Noon day at the Nativity of our Sacred Soveraign KING Charles, 2* . . . . Edw. Mathew, 1661, pp. 60–1.)

PAGE 47. *Lucasta's Fanne.* According to Stowe fans were introduced into England through France from Italy about 1572. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were made of feathers. Cf. Gosson:

Where fannes, and flappes of feathers fond,
  to flit away the flisking flies,
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,
  when heat of summer doth arrise,
    The wit of women we might praise,
    For finding out so greate an ease.

But seeing they are stil in hand,
  In house, in field, in church, in street,
In summer, winter, water, land,
  In colde, in heate, in drie, in weet,
    I judge they are for wives such tooles,
    As bables are in playes for fooles.

Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, ed. 1841, p. 7.

NOTES. *Pages* 47–50.

l. 3. *guttur-neck.* Throat.

l. 4. *feedst.* 'Thou feedst.' A similar carelessness in construction is often to be met with in Lovelace.

l. 6. *edifice.* The fan to which the ostrich's feathers have been transferred. Cf. Jonson:

> And they shall fan me with ten estrich tailes
> A piece, made in a plume, to gather wind.
>
> *The Alchemist*, fo. 1616, ii. 11, p. 622.

ll. 9–10. The ostrich's feathers in the fan have been dyed all the colours of the rainbow.

l. 13. *Sometime they wing her side.* Robert Heath in *Clarastella*, 1650, has a poem and an epigram on a lady 'wearing a lookinglass at her Girdle'. Jonson refers to the carrying of looking-glasses by men: 'Where is your page? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirrour in your hat, as I told you: so.' (*Cynthia's Revells*, fo. 1616, ii, III, p. 202.) May refers to the public wearing of mirrors by both sexes in *The Heire*, 1633, Sig. c 2 verso:

> *Pse.* . . . . I have often seene
> Both men and women court the looking-glasse
> . . . . . nay weare it about um
> As lovers doe their Mistresse counterfeit.

ll. 19–20. The construction is 'In which when she saw her fresh aspect and then saw her Foe retired (participle) to the West,' she said, 'Dear Engine' . . .

PAGE 50. *To Lucasta. Ode Lyrick.* Cf. Jenkyn:

A Poem Lyrick.

> *Amorea* why so Fair,
> Fairer then the clearest ayre,
> Brade no more that Auborn hayre,
> If in love you do not share,
> Beauty doth beget dispare:
>
> *Amorea* Why so wise,
> Far above a mortalls prise,
> Drown no more our gloomy eyes,
> But accept the Sacrifice,
> Of a lovers dying cries:
>
> *Amorea* why so High:
> Why so full of Majesty,
> Ah shut up that killing eye
> Which by looking can deny,
> Only minde the marriage tye:

Amorea why so Blest,
How so happy in thy rest,
Still denying to invest
In thy chast, but marble brest,
Any lovers interest:

Amorea cannot be,
Fair but in her puretie,
Nor *wise* but in her Sanctitie,
Nor *high* to any but to me,
Nor *Blest* but in Eternitie.

Amorea, 1661, p. 4.

ll. 16–17. *Blest with an unstained flood*
Flowing both through soule and blood;

If Hunter's conjecture in *Chorus Vatum* as to the parentage of Lucy Sacheverell were correct, these lines would show a striking lack of tact and of accuracy on the part of Lovelace. See *Introduction*, p. 31.

PAGE 51. *To my Worthy Friend Mr. Peter Lilly: on that excellent Picture of his Majesty, and the Duke of Yorke, drawne by him at Hampton-Court.* This picture is in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Syon House. It was painted during the time that Charles I was at Hampton Court and his children at Syon House in the charge of the tenth Earl of Northumberland.

'They were all three at the earl of Northumberland's house at Syon, from the time the King came to Hampton Court, and had liberty to attend his majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to him to Hampton Court, and sometimes he went to them to Syon; which gave him great divertisement.' (Clarendon.)

The earl 'received and treated them in all respects as was suitable to their birth and his own duty'.

There is a copy of the head of the King from this picture in the Ashmolean Gallery at Oxford. Lely received £30 for the picture and his receipt is still in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland.

Born at Soest in the same year as Lovelace, Lely came to England in 1641 in the train of William of Orange. He obtained considerable distinction under Charles I, but reached the height of his fame after the Restoration when he painted his famous Beauties of the Court of Charles the Second. Pepys speaks of him as 'a mighty proud man' and 'full of state'. See note to p. 164.

PAGE 52, l. 6. Walpole says of this picture:—'The king has none of the melancholy grace which Vandyck alone, of all his painters, always gave him. It has a sterner countenance, and expressive of the tempests he has experienced.' (*Anecdotes of Painting in England. Works*, 1798, vol. iii, p. 292.)

l. 22. *None but my Lilly ever drew a Minde.* Compare:

> The Author musing here survay,
> How He may THEOPHIL portray:
> Where Others Art surpast you find,
> They draw the Body, He the Mind.

Lines beneath the engraving which follows the title-page in Benlowe's *Theophila*, 1652.

l. 23. *Thou snowy Farme with thy five Tenements!* It would seem that white gloves were commonly worn by ladies. Compare Ben Jonson's song quoted below. Thomas Heywood speaks of 'such a hand hid in a gloue of snow' (*The Foure Prentises of London*, ed. 1632, Sig. H 3 verso), and James Howell more than once writes for a supply of white kid-skin gloves to serve as presents to women. (*Familiar Letters*, 1645, i, p. 24, and ii, p. 40.)

PAGE 53, ll. 6–7. Cf. Jonson's song in *Cynthia's Reuells*, fo. 1616, p. 228:

> *Thou more then most sweet gloue,*
> *Vnto my more sweet loue,*
> *Suffer me to store with kisses*
> *This emptie lodging, that now misses*
> *The pure rosie hand, that ware thee,*
> *Whiter then the kid, that bare thee.*
> *Thou art soft, but that was softer;*
> CVPIDS *selfe hath kist it ofter,*
> *Then e're he did his mothers doues,*
> *Supposing her the Queene of* loues,
> *That was thy Mistresse,*
> *Best of gloues.*

l. 9. *Minikin.* The treble string of a lute or viol. Cf.

Rossa. By this Gold, I had rather haue a servant with a short nose, and a thinne hayre, then haue such a high stretcht minikin voyce. (*Antonio and Mellida*, First part, Act v, ed. 1633, Sig. E 2.)

Fel. Fut, what trebble minikin squeakes there, ha?
Ibid. Act III, Sig. C 7 verso.

NOTES. *Pages 53–5.*

To Fletcher reviv'd. These lines were contributed to the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies*, 1647. Among other contributors were Denham, Waller, Howell, L'Estrange, Stanley, Corbet, Cartwright, Ben Jonson, Herrick, Brome and Shirley. Lovelace's lines with others were not reprinted in the folio of 1679. For the marginal notes in the folio giving the names of the various plays to which Lovelace refers, see 'Textual Notes'.

PAGE 54, ll. 33–4. Rochester says the same thing of Sedley:—

For Songs and Verses mannerly obscene,
That can stir Nature up by Springs unseen,
And without forcing Blushes, warm the Queen;
Sedley has that prevailing, gentle Art
That can with a resistless Charm impart
The loosest Wishes to the chastest Heart.

'This,' says Sam. Briscoe in the *Life* which he prefixed to the collected edition of Sedley, 2 vols. 1722, 'the Duke of *Buckingham* call'd *Sedley's* Witchcraft. It is true, it was an Art too succesful in those Days, to propagate the Immoralities of those Times; nor did't at all assist to protect the Vertue of the Readers, whether of one Sex or another'.

PAGE 55, l. 6. *the Austere Skarlet had approv'd.* The long and bitter quarrel between the Puritans and the stage ended in a temporary triumph for the former when all playing was forbidden by the ordinance of September 2, 1642. The 'austere Skarlet' is probably a reference to the doctors of the Westminster Assembly.

Strange Scarlet Doctors these, they'l passe in Story
For sinners halfe refin'd in Purgatory;
Or parboyl'd Lobsters, where there joyntly rules
The fading Sables and the coming Gules.
Cleveland, 'The Mixt Assembly' (1647, p. 29).

It is possible that Lovelace meant the judges who wore scarlet gowns. Compare Vittoria Corombona's exclamation in answer to her judge:

O poore charity!
Thou art seldome found in scarlet.
Webster, *The White Divel*, 1612, Sig. E 3.

Do the Lords bow, and the regarded scarlets,
Kiss their Gumd-gols, and cry, we are your servants?
Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, fo. 1679, p. 38.

 'Even

'Even the Bench,' says Lovelace, 'so stern in judging immorality, would have approved plays like yours if the reformation of dramatic manners commenced by you had not died with you'. But there is more point in the fantastic suggestion that the 'austere'—an epithet more appropriate to the Puritans than to the Bench—Westminster divines would have swallowed 'loose thoughts' if they had generally been so well expressed as Fletcher expressed them.

l. 16. *the best piece Hermes to Love e're read.* Lovelace may have had in mind Correggio's *Mercury teaching Cupid to read* now in the National Gallery and formerly in the collection of Charles I.

The Lady A. L. Possibly Anne, Lady Lovelace.

PAGE 57, l. 11. *Vild World.* Vild is a common spelling. Compare:

Sweete consort of vild Villaines,

Heywood, *The Foure Prentises of London*, ed. 1632, Sig. c 3 verso.

l. 27. *Naught.* Evil.

l. 29. *Bayes.* See note to p. 5, l. 19

PAGE 58. *A Prologue to the Scholars. A Comædy presented at the White-Fryers.* Lovelace's play was acted at Salisbury Court. The Whitefriars, where the Children of the King's Revels played, was closed in 1621, and 'after its re-edification for the adult players' known as Salisbury Court. (See *The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies by W. J. Lawrence*, First Series, pp. 16 and 26.) Lovelace keeps the older name which enables him to make his quibble, '*Faire* still to th' *Blacke*, *Blacke* still to the *White-Fryers*.'

PAGE 59, ll. 23–30. Mr. W. J. Lawrence quotes these lines (Second Series, p. 100) as testifying 'that a progressive spirit actuated the builders of the last of the private theatres, for they indicate that in Salisbury Court, which dated from 1629, playgoers were provided with more than one entrance to the auditorium proper'.

l. 24. *2 hour's time.* Compare 'the two houres traffique of our Stage' (*Romeo and Juliet*) and Prologue to *Henry VIII.* An almost contemporary Cambridge play is said to have occupied three hours. (*The Prologve and Epilogve to a Comedie, Presented, at the Entertainment of the Prince His Highnesse, by the Schollers of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, in March last, 1641. By Francis Cole. London: Printed for James Calvin, 1642.*) and there are other references to three-hour performances.

 PAGE 60,

NOTES. *Pages* 60, 61.

PAGE 60, ll. 3–4. *in which the Throne*
To their amazement should descend alone,

Cf. Jonson's Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*:

Nor creaking throne comes downe, the boyes to please;
Nor nimble squibbe is seene, to make afear'd
The gentlewomen;

and

'I will have all these descend from the top of my roof, in a Throne, as you see *Cupid* or *Mercury* in a Play'. (Shackerley Marmion, *The Antiquary*, Sig. H 3.)

In a note on the former passage in his edition of *Every Man* Mr. Percy Simpson quotes similar references from Lodge and Greene, *A Looking Glasse, for London and England*, 1598, and Greene's *Alphonsus*, 1599.

ll. 5–6.

The rosin-lightning flash, and Monster spire
Squibs,

Mr. Lawrence quotes from *A Warning for Faire Women* (1599), a 'sarcastic reference . . . to the stage-lightning of the period':

Then of a filthy whining ghost
Lapt in some foul sheet or a leather pilch,
Comes screaming like a pig half stick'd and cries
Vindicta! revenge, revenge.
With that a little rosin flasheth forth
Like smoke out of a tabacco pipe or a boy's squib . . . .

and adds with a reference to this passage. (*Op. cit.*, Second Series, p. 19.)

l. 14. *not their Crimes.* Cf. Jonson, Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, fo., 1616, p. 5:

But deedes, and language, such as man doe vse:
And persons, such as *Comoedie* would chuse,
When she would shew an Image of the times,
And sport with humane follies, not with crimes.

PAGE 61. *Clitophon and Lucippe translated.* These lines were contributed to Anthony Hodges's translation of *The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe. A most elegant History, written in Greeke by Achilles Tatius: And now Englished. . . . . Oxford, Printed by William Turner for Iohn Allam.* 1638. Lovelace's lines are printed in larger type than those of other contributors. There are so many variations between the two versions that the earlier is here given in full:

NOTES. *Page* 61.

To the Ladies.

FAire ones, breathe: a while lay by
Blessed *Sidney's Arcady*:
Here 's a Story that will make
You not repent *Him* to forsake;
And with your dissolving looke
Vntie the Contents of this Booke;
To which nought (except your sight)
Can give a worthie Epithite.
Tis an abstract of all Volumes,
A Pillaster of all Columnes
Fancie e're rear'd to wit, to be
Little *Love's* Epitome,
And compactedly expresse
All Lovers Happy Wretchednesse.

Brave *Pamela's* majestie,
And her sweet Sisters modestie
Are fixt in each of you, you are
Alone, what these together were:
Divinest, that are really
What *Cariclea's* feign'd to be;
That are every One, the Nine;
And on Earth *Astræ's* shine;
Be our *Leucippe*, and remaine
In *Her*, all these o're againe.

Wonder! Noble *Clitophon*
Me thinkes lookes somewhat colder on
His beauteous Mistresse, and she too
Smiles not as she us'd to doe.
See! the Individuall Payre
Are at oddes, and parted are;
Quarrell, emulate, and stand
At strife, who first shall kisse your hand.

A new warre e'rewhile arose
'Twixt the *Greekes* and *Latines*, whose
Temples should be bound with Glory
In best languaging this Story:
You that with one lovely smile,
A Ten-yeares Warre can reconcile;
Peacefull *Hellens*, awfull, see
The jarring languages agree;

 And

NOTES. *Page* 61.

And here all Armes laid by, they doe
Meet in *English* to court you.
Rich: Lovelace, Ma: Ar: A: Glou:
Eq: Aur: Fil: Nat: Max.

Wood mentions Anthony Hodges, Chaplain of New College, as refusing the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1646 (*Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, ii. 738), and in his Autobiography has the following account under the year 1649: 'Mr. Anthony Hodges, Rector of Wytham in Berks (a mile distant from Cassington), would often come among these Royallists at Mr. Tipping's House, and there make them merry. He was a very good Scholar, and fit, in many respects, to oblige Posterity by his Pen; but delighting himself in Mirth, and in that which was afterwards called Buffooning and Bantering, could never be brought to set pen to paper for that purpose. He was the Mirth of the Company, and they esteem'd him their *Terrae filius*.' (Hearne's *Thomae Caii . . Vindiciae*, 1730, ii, p. 477.) In the *Fasti* (*op. cit.*, i, p. 893) Wood mentions two 'impressions' of *The Loves* in 1638, one apparently without the commendatory verses.

Hodges wrote some Latin verses for *Musarum Oxoniensium Charisteria*, 1638. Achilles Tatius, about whom little is known, probably wrote *Clitophon and Leucippe* towards the end of the third century A. D. He was one of the most popular of the Greek novelists. Hodges does seem to have known the earlier translation by William Burton which was published in 1597.

l. 20. *Cariclea.* The heroine of Heliodorus' romance of *Theagenes and Chariclea.*

l. 22. *Astrea.* The pastoral romance *L'Astrée* was written by Honoré d'Urfé, Marquis de Valromey (1567–1625). The first part was published in Paris in 1610, the second being added in 1612, and the third and fourth in 1618. The book was left unfinished but was completed by d'Urfé's secretary Barro from his papers. Other continuations were also written. There were numerous editions of the Romance; '*Astrea* finding so good entertainement in her owne countrey, as hauing passed the Presse in the 3. principall Cities of France, namely, Paris, Roan. and Lyons, is now encouraged to crosse the seas, and to try what welcome she shall meete with here in England', says John Pyper in the Dedication to his '*The History of Astrea. The First Part. In Twelue Bookes: Newly*

Translated out of French . . . 1620. A complete translation, by 'A Person of Quality', was printed in three volumes, folio, 1657–8. Leonard Willan's *Astræa, or True Love's Myrrour. A Pastoral* 1651, is based on d'Urfé's romance.

PAGE 62, l. 9. *A new Dispute. Clitophon and Leucippe* was not printed till 1544, when a Latin translation of the last four books by Annibale della Croce appeared at Lyons, the whole book by the same translator being printed at Basle in 1554. The Greek text first appeared at Heidelberg in 1601, with Longus and Parthenius in the same volume. (See *Achilles Tatius*, S. Gaselee, 1917.) Another edition with the Greek and Latin text was printed at Heidelberg in 1606, and another with notes by Dionysius Petavius in Part I of his *Uranologion*, Paris, 1630.

PAGE 63. *To my truely valiant, learned Friend*, . . . These lines were prefixed to *Pallas Armata. The Gentlemans Armorie; Wherein the right and genuine use of the Rapier and of the Sword, as well against the right handed as against the left handed man is displayed: And now set forth and first published for the common good by the Author. . . . Printed at London by I D for Iohn Williams, at the signe of the Crane in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1639.*

They are signed 'Rich Lovelace, *A Glouces: Oxon.*'

The Preface to the book is signed G. A., possibly George Ashwell of Wadham, who contributed Latin verses to Oxford collections of poems such as *Musarum Oxoniensium Charisteria*, 1638, *Flos Britannicus*, 1638, and *Horti Cardini Rosa Altera*, 1640; or Gideon Ashwell of King's who has verses in Συνωδια, *Sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Concentus et Congratulatio*, 1637.

l. 8. *And Conquer by the Booke?* Cf.

Del. He hath read all the late seruice,
As the City Chronicle relates it,
And keepe two Painters going, onely to expresse
Battailes in modell.
Sil. Then hel; fight by the book.

The Tragedy of the Dvtchesse of Malfy, 1623, Sig. G 4 verso.

l. 9. *Take then this Mathematick shield.* Cf.

What, a Dog, a Rat, a Mouse, a Cat to scratch a man to death: a Braggart, a Rogue, a Villaine, that fights by the booke of Arithmeticke, . . . (*Romeo and Juliet*, III. i.)

PAGE 64. *Amyntor.* Hazlitt suggested that Amyntor here and in the dialogue *Amyntor from beyond the Sea to Alexis* might be identified with Endymion Porter and that

Arigo was 'unquestionably no other than Henry Jermyn'. It is possible that both these poems were addressed to Porter, but this cannot be argued on the assumption that Arigo is Henry Jermyn, who is associated with Endymion Porter as 'Arigo' by Davenant. Arigo and Gratiana in this poem are the 'Blooming Boy, and blossoming Mayd' who fly in 'Cleare as the skye from whence they came', and must represent Porter's children Thomas and Mary or, more probably, James and Lettice, according to the date on which the lines were written. Henry Jermyn was not aged five in 1648.

Although there does not seem to be any record that Porter himself possessed pictures attributed to Titian, Raphael, and Giorgione, he may have done so as he was frequently abroad on missions to buy pictures for the king, and though these were sometimes a cloak for secret diplomacy he certainly had a great deal to do with the formation of Charles I's collection, and was the friend and patron of Vandyck, Rubens, and other of the famous painters of the day.

Lovelace must have been acquainted with Porter at the Court where the latter held the post of Gentleman of the Bedchamber, having been with the king since the days of his visit to Madrid in 1623. He might also have met Porter during the expeditions to the north when he himself was in George Goring's regiment. Goring was related by marriage to the Porters, his sister having married George Porter, Endymion's eldest son. Chloris would be Olivia, Endymion's wife, who was the daughter of Lord Boteler.

In 1646 or 1647 Endymion Porter fled to France, where he was joined by his wife in April 1647, and he spent the next two years there and in the Low Countries, returning to England in the winter of 1648–9 and dying the following August. This would date the *Dialogue*, in which Amyntor invites Alexis across the sea to the 'watry land', in 1648. See p. 91.

PAGE 66, l. 1. *the Indians richest prize.* Probably tobacco.

ll. 21–2. *he wrote but five,*
Yet spake eighteene,

He wrote himself but five (i.e. was only five years old), though from his way of speaking it might have been thought that he was eighteen.

Compare: . . . I writ my selfe
(And truly) lover ere I could write man,
Heywood, *A Challenge for Beavtie*, 1636, Sig. B 3 verso.

 . . . 'on

. . . 'on the day I doe write man,' (of an heir just come of age). (Jonson, *The Staple of News*, I. i, ed. 1631, p. 8.)

PAGE 67. *Against the Love of Great Ones.* W. C. Hazlitt occasionally cites a transcript of a few of Lovelace's poems which he found in a copy of Crashaw's *Poems*, 1648. The MS. seems to be of no importance, but it gives the correct reading 'bands' for 'bonds' in l. 3. of these verses.

PAGE 68, l. 20. *But we (defend us!) are divine.* Cf.

> What 's great and faire? wee would be term'd divine.
> Such as would give us our full character,
> Must search for Epithites, and studie phrase.

Heywood, *A Challenge for Beavtie*, 1636, Sig. A4 verso.

l. 28. *Booreinn.* A peasant woman, a female boor. (*N. E. D.*)

l. 33. *Play at Baloon.* Cf.

> *Sir Petro.* . . . wee had a match at *Baloone* too, with my Lord *Whachum*, for foure crownes.
> *Gir.* At *Baboone? Iesu!* you and I will play at *Baboone* in the countrey? Knight.
> *Sir Pet.* O sweet Lady: tis a strong play with the arme.
> *Gir.* With arme, or legge, or any other member, if it bee a court-sport.
>
> *Eastward Hoe*, 1605, Sig. B 1.

Coryate describes how he saw the game at Venice:

'There are two very faire and spacious Piazzaes or market places in the Citie, besides that of S^t^. *Marke* before mentioned, whereof the fairest is S^t^. *Stephens*, being indeed of a notable length, euen two hundred eighty seuen paces long, for I paced it; but of a meane breadth, onely sixty one. Here euery Sunday and Holy-day in the euening the young men of the citie doe exercise themselues at a certaine play that they call Baloone, which is thus: Sixe or seuen yong men or thereabout weare certaine round things vpon their armes, made of timber, which are full of sharpe pointed knobs cut out of the same matter. In these exercises they put off their dublets, and hauing put this round instrument vpon one of their armes, they tosse vp and downe a great ball, as great as our football in England: sometimes they will tosse the ball with this instrument, as high as a common Church, and about one hundred paces at the least from them. About them sit the Clarissimoes of Venice, with many strangers that repaire thither to see their game. I haue seene at the least a thousand or fifteene hundred people there: If you will haue

 a stoole

a stoole it will cost you a gazet, which is almost a penny.' (*Crudities*, 1611, p. 246.)

PAGE 69, l. 2. *a dying Lives.* Compare p. 84. 'Now fie upon that everlasting Life, I Dye!'

Mrs. Bowes Barne. Probably an unmarried cousin of Lovelace's mother—she and Lucasta are called 'equal Virgins'—a younger sister of the Carola Harsnett mentioned below. *Westminster Abbey Registers* (Harleian Society), 1876, p. 188, has the following entry in the list of Burials:

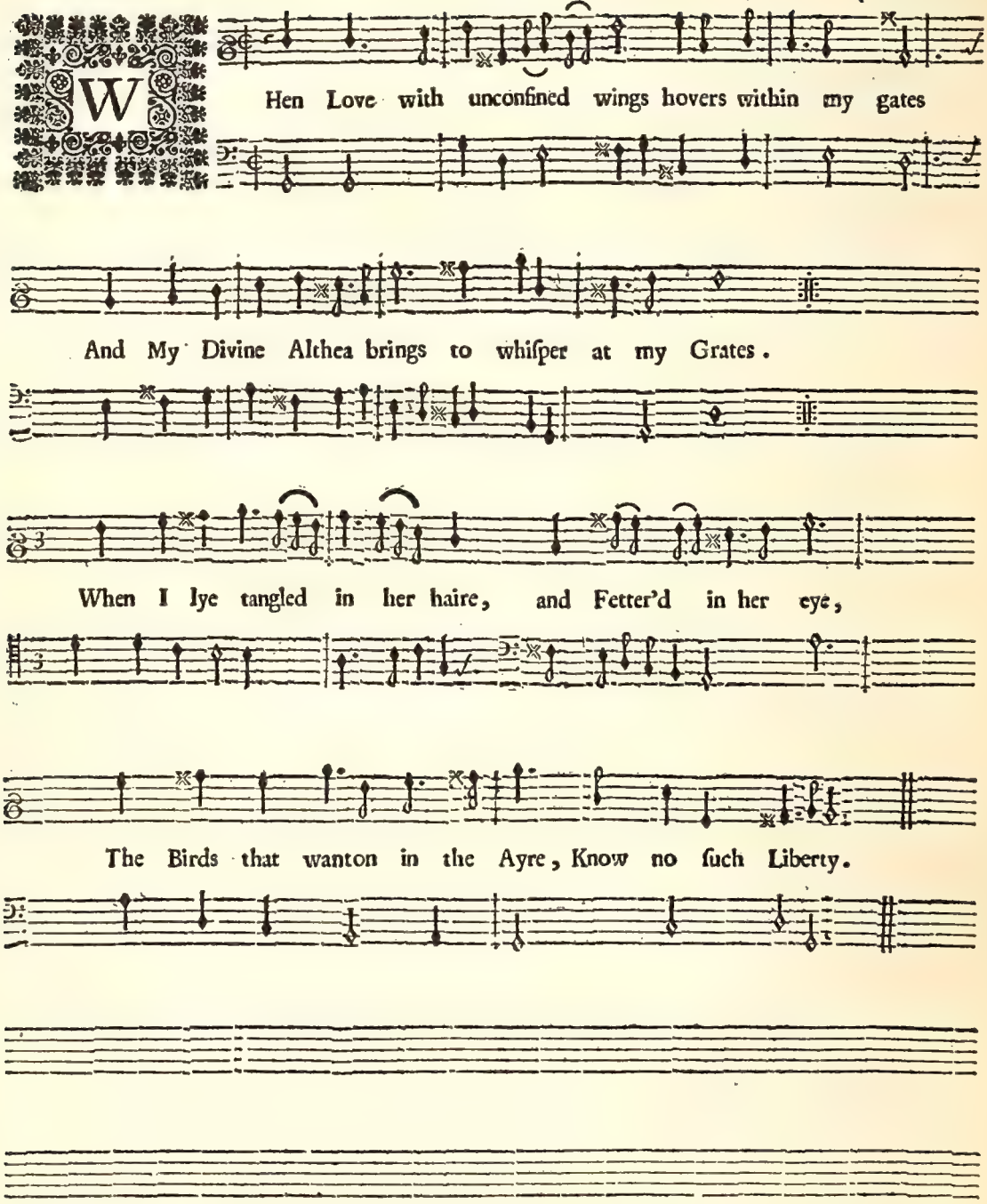
1676 May [17] Carola wife of Major Harsnett (Cloisters).

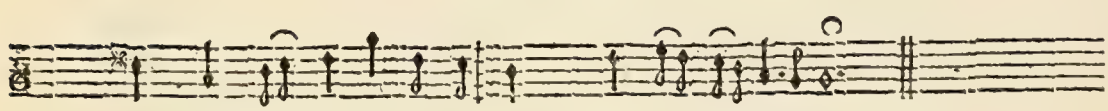
Note. Eldest dau. of Robert Barne of Great Grimsby, co. Lincoln, Esq. (second son of Sir William Barne, of Woolwich, Kent, Kt., by Anne, dau. of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York), by Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Twysden, of Wye, co. Kent, Esq., and born about 1623.

PAGE 70. *To Althea, From Prison.* This song has always been the best known of all Lovelace's poems. It was imitated by his contemporaries, Percy published a version of it in his *Reliques*, it was included in some anthologies of the second half of the 18th century at a time when the author was very little known, and in 1839, Robert Bell in his *Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Great Britain*, stated that, 'there is scarcely any single production of the seventeenth century which enjoys such extensive popularity'. Aubrey de Vere tells how Tennyson would 'read aloud a song by one of the chivalrous poets of Charles the First's time, perhaps Lovelace's "Althea" which Wordsworth also used to *croon* in the woods, and said, [i.e. Tennyson said] "There! I would give all my poetry to have made one song like that!"' (*Tennyson. A Memoir*, by Hallam Lord Tennyson, 1897, vol. i, pp. 210–11.)

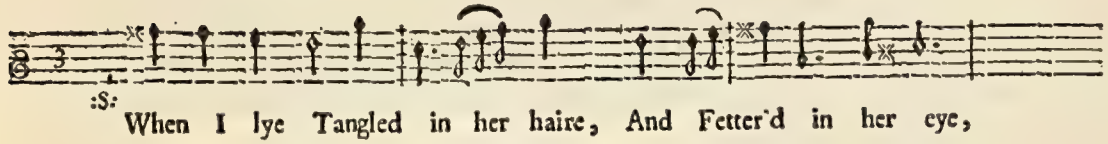
The poem was written, according to Wood, during the poet's confinement in the Gatehouse in 1642, but it was not published till seven years later when it appeared in *Lucasta.* Although there are practically no seventeenth-century MSS. of Lovelace's other poems, there are no less than six of *To Althea.* One is that used by Percy, four others are in the British Museum, and one in the Bodleian. The following version has press-mark E. G. 2725 Farnb. fo. 10 (MS. A). The collection of poems in which it occurs was written about 1650, probably rather before than after that date, as none of the poems refers to Charles I as

 dead.

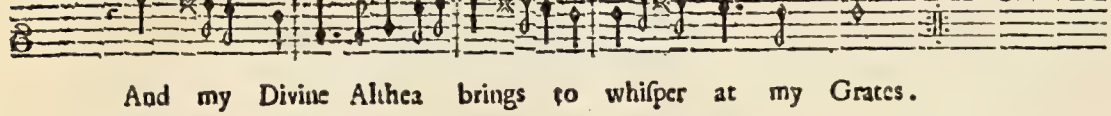

WHen Love with unconfined wings hovers within my gates
And My Divine Althea brings to whiſper at my Grates.
When I lye tangled in her haire, and Fetter'd in her eye,
The Birds that wanton in the Ayre, Know no ſuch Liberty.



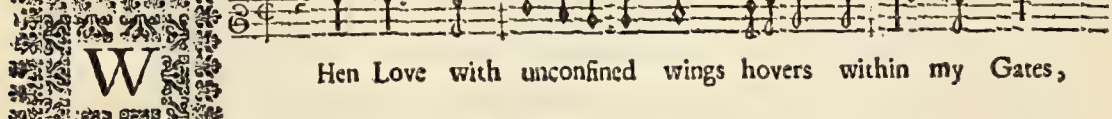
The Birds that wanton in the Ayre, Know no ſuch Liberty.



When I lye Tangled in her haire, And Fetter'd in her eye,

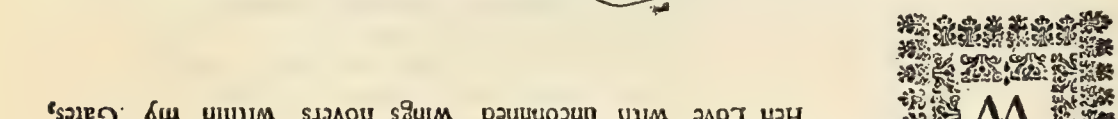


And my Divine Althea brings to whiſper at my Grates.

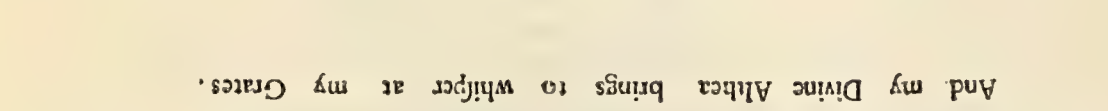


Hen Love with unconfined wings hovers within my Gates,

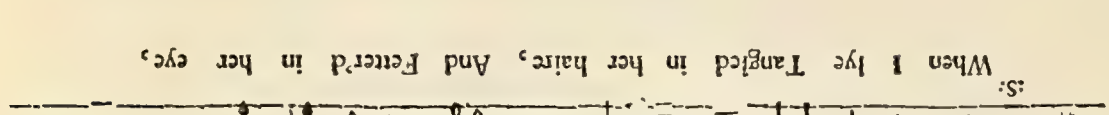
Cantus Secundus. [7] *J. Wilſon.*



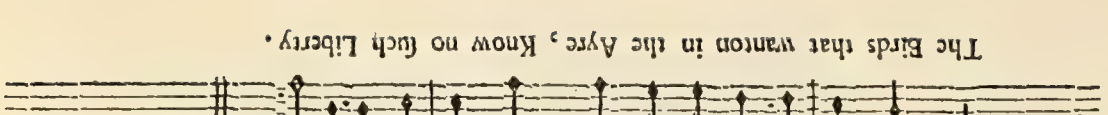
Hen Love with unconfined wings hovers within my Gates,



And my Divine Althea brings to whiſper at my Grates.



When I lye Tangled in her haire, And Fetter'd in her eye,



The Birds that wanton in the Ayre, Know no ſuch Liberty.

dead. It was, therefore, probably written before the song was printed.

A coppy of verses of captaine Lovelace his making when he was in prison.

When Loue with unconfined wings
Houers about my grates
And my divine Althea brings
Spic'd whispers to my gates,
When I intangled in her haire
Am fettered in her eye
The birds that wanton in the aire
Know noe such libertie.

When flowing cups run swiftly round
Like to the posting Thames
Our carelesse heads with chapplets crown'd
Our harts with loyall flames.
When thirsty griefe in wine wee steepe
When healths and draughts are free
Fishes that tipple in the deepe
Know noe such liberty.

When, like committed linnets, I
With shriller throat shall sing
The sweetnesse, virtue, Majesty
And mildnesse of my King
When I shall voice abroad how good
He is, how great should bee
Th' inlarged winds that curles the flood
Know no such liberty.

Stone walls doe not a prison make,
Nor iron grates a cage
A spotlesse mind, and innocence
Calls this an Hermitage
If I have freedome in my loue
And in my soule am free
Angells alone that soare aboue
Enjoy such liberty.

Dr. Bliss in his edition of Wood's *Athenae* printed a second MS. version of *To Althea*, 'to all appearance contemporary with the Author'. This MS. which formed Lot 192 at the sale of his books on August 21, 1858, is in the British Museum to-day, Add. MS. 22603. fo. 16. (MS. B.)

 His

His beinge in Prison.

When Loue wth unconfinèd winges
  Houer'd within my gates;
And my diuine Allthea bringes
  To whisper at my grates.
When I lye tangled in her hayre
  And fettered in her eye
The Birds yt wanton in the ayr
  Know not such libertie.

2.

When flowing Cupps runne swiftly round
  With noe allayinge theames,
Our carelesse heads with Roses bound,
  Our heartes with loyall flames.
When thirsty griefes in wine wee steepe
  When healths and draughts are free,
Fishes y^t^ tipple in the deepe
  Know no such Libertie.

3.

When like comitted Linnets, I
  With shriller notes shall singe,
The sweetnes, mercy, maiestie
  And glories of my kinge;
When I shall voyce aloud, how good
  He is, and great should be
Enlarged winds that curle ye flood
  Know not such Libertie.

4.

Stone walls doe not a Prison make
  Nor Iron barres a Cage,
A spotlesse mind, and Innocent
  Calls that an Hermitage.
If I haue freedome in my loue
  And in my soule am free
Angells alone that are aboue
  Enjoy such Libertie.

In this MS. there follows an *Answer* in the same hand, the author of which is unknown:

The Answer

When Cynthia's wrapt within my armes
  With warblinge notes doth singe,
New victories still wayte upon
  The Progresse of our Kinge;

If I'me confin'd unto the same
  May not her Eccho be,
Byrds that are cloyster'd in a Cage,
  Know no such slauerie.

2.

When that my Genius doth inuite
  And prompt me to a Lust,
To tell the world, how great he was,
  How good he is and iust
If y^{t} my tounge may speake; my hearte
  Be forc't to disagree
Men y^{t} are fetter'd in a Chayne
  Know noe such slauerie

3.

When wine shall crowne ye larger bowles
  And each man quaffe his share
On bended knees to whom they list
  And gracious Charles not there;
If I want freedome to beginne
  Healthe to his M^{tie};
Camells y^{t} kneele to beare thyre weight
  Know no such slauery.

4.

Proud buildinges not a Pallace make,
  To yield a large Content.
A mind controlled in its will
  Calls y^{t} Imprisonment.
If y^{t} I cannot w^{t} I will
  But must will w^{t} I see
Vessells acquainted to the oare
  Know no such slauerie.

A third version (MS. C.), attributed to Col. John Lovelace, is to be found in Bishop Percy's MS., which he collated with the text printed in *Lucasta*, 1649, and printed in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765, vol. ii, pp. 325–6. The text of the MS. is taken from Hales and Furnivall's edition, 1868, vol. ii, pp. 19–20.

When Loue with unconfinèd.

When Love w*i*th vnconfined wings
  hovers w*i*thin my gates,
& my divine Althea brings
  to whisp*er* at my grates,

 when

when I lye tangled in her heere
& fettered w*i*th her eye,
the burds *tha*t wanton in the ayre
enioyes[1] such Lybertye.

When, Lynett like confined, I
w*i*th shriller note shall sing
the mercy, goodnesse, maiestye
& glory of my kinge,
when I shall voice aloud how good
he is, how great shold bee,
the enlarged winds t*ha*t curles the floods
enioyes such Lybertye.

When flowing cupps run swiftly round
w*i*th woe-allaying theames,
our carelesse heads w*i*th roses crowned,
our harts w*i*th Loyall flames,
when thirsty soules in wine wee steepe,
when cupps and bowles goe free,
ffishes t*hat* typle in the deepe
enioyes such Lybertye.

Stone walls doe not a prison make,
nor Iron barrs a cage,
the spotlesse soule an[d] Inocent
Calls this an hermitage.
if I haue freedome in my loue,
& in my soule am free,
angells alone *tha*t sores aboue
enioyes such Lybertye!
ffins.

There is also in the Bodleian (MS. 1267 [2] Rawlinsonian D) another version of the last stanza. There is no indication of the date when the lines were written, but they are in a seventeenth century hand and the volume in which they occur was owned by Tho. Hearne in September 1709 (MS. D.).

Stone walls doe not a prison make, nor iron barrs a cage
The spotlesse soule & innocent calls that an hermitage
He y^t^ hath freedome in his wishe, & in his soule is free
Angells alone y^t^ serve aboue know no such liberty

Among the Harleian MSS. there are two versions of

[1] This final s and several others have been marked through by a later hand. [Note by Furnivall.]

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To Althea. The following has press-mark 2127. f. 20. (MS. E.):

When Love, with unconfined Winge
Hovers about my Gates
And my divine Althea singe
And whispers at my Grates
When I lie tangled in her haire
And fettered in her Eye
The Birds that wanton in the aire
Know noe such Libertie.

When flowing Cupps runne sweetly round
With noe allaying theames
Our careles heads with roses cround
Our Loyall hearts with fflames
Whil'st thirstie Griefe in wine we steepe
And Healthes in Bowles runne free
ffishes that tipple in the deepe
Knowe noe such Libertie.

When Lynnetts like, Committed we
With shriller noate doe sing,
The glory, might, and maiestye
And goodnes of our King.
When wee shall vote aloud how good
He is; how great should bee:
Inlarged Windes that curles the floud
Know noe such Libertie.

Stone Walls can not a prison make
Nor Iron Barrs a Cage
A spotles minde, and Innocent
Calls that an hermitage.
Whil'st we have freedome in our Love
And in our Soules are free
Angells alone that soare above
Inioy such Libertie.

The volume in which the above version is written is described in the Catalogue of Harleian MSS. as 'A thin Book in folio . . . by the third Randle Holme entituled "Songs & Sonnetts", . . . written by different Hands, besides which here are Epitaphs, Lampoons, Libells &c in Prose, as well as in Verse; particularly some against the Welsh and Scots; some for King Charles the first, the Bishops &c, and others against them. . . .'

 This

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This Randle Holme lived from 1627 to 1699. The same catalogue describes Harl. MS. 6918, fo. 94[b], which has another version of *To Althea*, as a quarto containing a large collection of English poems, and it appears to have been written in the early part of the seventeenth century. It was once in Lord Somers' Library. (MS. F.)

The verses are headed 'Captaine Loueles made this poem in his duresse at the Gatehouse'. With the following exceptions the version is the same as that given in Add. MSS. 22603: l. 2 hovers, l. 6 with her Ey, l. 7 the Gods, l. 8 knowe noe, l. 10 Thames, l. 18 shriller Throate, l. 22 how great, l. 24 knowe noe, l. 31 that dwell. There are also a few differences in spelling, punctuation, and capitals. The last stanza, in a different hand, is written in eight lines instead of in four as are the others. The word *Gods* in l. 7 is underlined in pencil and *Birds* written in the margin in a different hand and probably at a later date.

Most of the variations between the MSS. and the printed song are of little or no importance. The poem was circulated in manuscript or by word of mouth for seven years before it was printed and this would be quite sufficient to account for small differences. In the last stanza, however, a correction has obviously been made. The MSS. all read 'the spotlesse minde (*or* soule) and innocent',[1] while *Lucasta* reads 'Minds innocent and quiet'. There can be no doubt that we have here a deliberate correction, made when Lovelace 'framed his poems for the press'.

There is one other reading which challenges attention. That is *Gods* in l. 7 of the first stanza. All the MSS. but one read *Birds*; the one MS. and the printed version read *Gods*, which must be accepted as the correct reading and as that which was finally approved by the poet. Were it not for the Harleian MS., it would seem certain that the very obvious *Birds* was what Lovelace had at first written. As it is, it appears more probable that early transcribers were as ready to alter this word to satisfy their notion of what is correct, as modern editors and anthologists have been to follow their example. Even in the Harleian MS. which gives the correct reading some one has added the inevitable 'Birds'. This reading was printed as early as 1659,

[1] Compare 'Innocent and spotlesse hearts', Felltham, *Resolves*, ed. 1628, p. 231.

 and

and again in 1660 by Dr. John Wilson in his *Cheerful Ayres and Ballads.*

Dr. Bliss wrote a note on the top of his MS. and he published another to the same effect in his edition of the *Athenae*: 'It is worthy of remark that in some copies this is read "The *Gods*" &c., and that Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore, took the credit of the alteration to "*Birds*", as his own. It is needless to add, that the present MS. was written long before Dr. Percy was born. See Ellis's *Specimens*, iii. 277.' Percy, to whom credit is due for re-introducing this song to public favour, for it seems to have been very nearly forgotten in the first half of the eighteenth century, has been much abused for the text of *To Althea* which he printed. Hazlitt, who printed 'birds' without any hesitation, regarding the text of *Lucasta* as labouring under 'extraordinary corruptions', attacks him for 'very unnecessarily' altering 'like committed linnets' to 'linnet-like confined'; adding 'It is fortunate for the lovers of early English literature that Bp. Percy had comparatively little to do with it. Emendation of a text is well enough; but the wholesale and arbitrary slaughter of it is quite another matter.' Mr. Seccombe also, in his article on Lovelace in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, accused Percy of making 'several conjectural emendations which have since been universally condemned'. Percy made no 'conjectural emendations', but only, as he said he had done, collated the version of the song as given in *Lucasta* with his own MS., and, where he preferred it, adopted the reading of the latter.

To Althea enjoyed some contemporary popularity and was imitated more than once, by Jenkyn and Stanley for instance. Jenkyn has the following in *Amorea* (p. 29):

Loves Liberty.

1.

When Cupid had possest my heart
  With *Amorea's* Love,
And that my more diviner part
  My meaner fancies prove,
When my affections all were crost
  And she did me deny,
The fallen Angell only lost
  So great a Liberty.

2.

When not obtaining deep despair
  Had conquered my minde
And that a kinde of hopeless fear
  Did all my wishes blinde
When *I* shall call to minde the day
  That first I did her see,
With captiv'd soules I then may say
  I had a Liberty.

3.

When with a swan-like Song I sing
  My *Amorea's* grace,
My Muse must then in changes ring
  The wonders of her face,
When with her all commanding Love
  My passions are set free,
The spirits of the Elizium grove
  Have no such Liberty.

4.

When as I hear her heavenly name
  My Sadness is supprest,
And nothing but a Loyall flame
  Doth harbour in my brest,
When with a look my grief is hurl'd
  By the charmes of her eye,
Onely the Sun that Rules the world,
  Doth know such Liberty.

The influence of Lovelace's song is clear in both the following poems by Stanley, which were set to music by Gamble in his *Ayres and Dialogues.*

Song.

When I lie burning in thine eye,
  Or freezing in thy brest,
What Martyrs, in wish'd flames that die,
  Are half so pleas'd or blest?

When thy soft accents, through mine ear
  Into my soul do fly,
What Angel would not quit his sphear,
  To hear such harmony?

Or when the kisse thou gav'st me last
  My soul stole in its breath,
What life would sooner be embrac'd
  Then so desir'd a death?

[When I commanded am by thee,
  Or by thine eyes or hand;
What Monarch would not prouder be
  To serve then to command.]

Then think no freedom I desire,
  Or would my fetters leave,
Since Phenix-like I from this fire
  Both life and youth receave.

Poems, by Thomas Stanley, 1651, pp. 19–20.

The stanza in brackets is taken from *Ayres and Dialogues*, ed. 1657, p. 5. It is not printed in Stanley's *Poems*.

Song.

I will not trust thy tempting graces,
  Or thy deceitful charms,
Nor pris'ner be to thy embraces,
  Or fetter'd in thy arms;
No, *Celia*, no, not all thy art
Can wound or captivate my heart.

I will not gaze upon thy Eyes,
  Or wanton with thy Hair,
Lest those should burn me by surprize,
  Or these my soul ensnare:
Nor will those smiling dangers play,
Or fool my liberty away.

Since then my wary heart is free,
  And unconfin'd as thine,
If thou would'st mine should captiv'd be,
  Thou must thine owne resigne,
And gratitude may thus move more
Than Love or Beauty could before.

Poems, pp. 58–9.

This song was set to music by Jeremy Savill in *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, 1659, p. 56.

'A Song in Prison' by T. W., printed in *Songs and Poems of Love and Drollery*, 1654, pp. 6–7, is obviously inspired by *To Althea*.

A Song in Prison.

I am no captive, I, I find,
My soul still free and unconfined;
And though my body have the doom,
To be cag'd up in a close room;

 Yet

Yet since my minde is guiltlesse, this
No bondage, nor no thraldome is.

Let such for captives truly go,
Whose guilty souls do make them so;
When num'rous crimes link't and combin'd:
Like pondrous chains fetter the minde:
When thoughts are black and gloomy, this
True bondage, and true thraldome is.

But when a spotlesse Innocence
Shall witness that no foul offence,
But Loyalty unto my King
Caus'd my restraint: who will not bring
A testimony straight, that this
No bondage nor no thraldome is.

It would not be difficult to quote other poems which may have been inspired by Lovelace and lines from which it may be argued that he himself drew inspiration. The Rev. H. J. Chaytor has pointed out to me an interesting parallel in the first act of Calderon's *La Vida es Sueño*, where Segismundo in prison bewails his lot as compared with the freedom of the birds and beasts and fishes:

Nace el ave, y con las galas
que la dàn belleza suma,
. . . . .
y teniendo yo mas alma,
tengo menos libertad?
. . . . .
Nace el pez, que no respira,
aborto de ovas, y lamas,
. . . . .
y yo con mas alvedrio,
tengo menos libertad?

It was suggested in *Notes and Queries*, September 1884, that Lovelace had in mind Shakespeare's lines in *Julius Caesar*, I. iii. 93–5:

Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit;

This idea, however, is obvious; many poets have stated that it is possible to be free though in prison, and have proclaimed that 'the bird in cage doth sweetly sing'. George Wither, for instance, composed *The Shepheards Hunting*, 1615, in whole or in part during an imprison-

ment in the Marshalsea and in the Argument to the first 'Eglogue' shows that 'Hee's still free that's free in Minde'. The song at the end of the second 'Eglogue' has been described by Professor Courthope as a kind of 'pastoral pendant' to Lovelace's poem. No other poet, however, has handled the theme with the same chivalrous and delicate simplicity.

There is another poem, *The Liberty of the Imprisoned Royalist*, 'Beat on proud Billows, Boreas blow', which has been attributed to Lovelace. The attribution is due to the fact that the ideas dealt with in the two poems are in part the same. There is no sort of evidence or probability that Lovelace wrote it. There can be little doubt that the traditional attribution of the poem to Sir Roger L'Estrange is correct and it is definitely stated to be his in the pamplet *A Hymn to Confinement . . . To which is added, a POEM on the same Subject by the Famous Sir Roger L'Estrange, when in Newgate, in the Days of Oliver's Usurpation . . . London; Printed in the Year 1705. And Sold by the Booksellers* (*Price Six Pence*). The question of the authorship of this poem is dealt with by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, K.C., in *Notes and Queries*, 1904. Mr. Thorn-Drury also gives a list of places other than the quarto where the verses are to be found. His conclusion that the first quarto, which was published without a title-page, belongs to 1647 is supported by the fact that two copies in the Worcester College Library are bound among pamphlets of that year. Two other poems were included in this pamphlet.

PAGE 70. *Set by Dr. John Wilson.* This setting was printed in the Third Part 'being *Songs* or *Ballads* for *Three Voyces*' of *Select Ayres and Dialogues For One, Two, and Three Voyces; To the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol, . . . W. Godbid for J. Playford*: . . . 1659. Songs by Charles Colman, Henry and William Lawes, Nicholas Laneare, William Webb and 'other Excellent Masters of Musick' were included in this volume which was an enlarged edition of *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues*, 1653. The sheets of it were reissued with a new title-page in 1669 as Book I of *The Treasury of Musick: Containing Ayres and Dialogues To Sing to the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol*, 1669.

Wilson's setting was reprinted in 1660 in *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads First composed for one single Voice and since set for three Voices by John Wilson Dr. in Musick Professor of the same in the University of Oxford. Oxford. Printed*

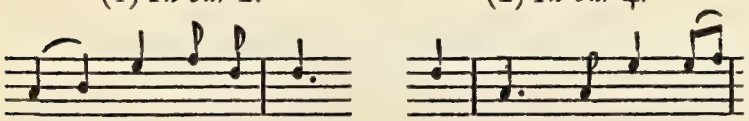
by

by W. Hall, for Ric Davis. Anno Dom. M DC LX. The reproduction in this edition is from the Bodleian copy of the Oxford book. (Art. 4° v 41.) See note to p. 21.

In the collection of Ballads 'chiefly belonging to the period of the Restoration', which formed Lot 433 in Messrs. Sotheby's sale catalogue of the first portion of the Huth Collection, 1911, one (Vol. ii, No. 53) reads: "The Pensive Prisoner's Apology". Tune of "Love with unconfined wings": or, "No, no, no, no, not yet," *printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke.* 12 stanzas, with 4 cuts. In two parts.'

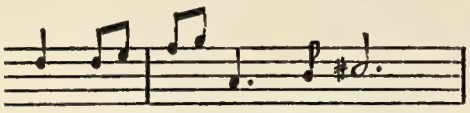
Mr. W. A. Pickard-Cambridge has pointed out to me that in the setting as printed the tenor part has almost certainly gone astray in bars two and four, and possibly also in bar three of the second part. The original may have been as follows:—

(1) *In bar* 2. (2) *In bar* 4.



wings Ho - vers with - in di - vine Al - the - a

(3) *In bar* 3 *of the second half.*



And Fet - ter'd in her eye

l. 9. *When I lye tangled in her haire.* Compare Peele:

Dauid. Now comes my louer tripping like the Roe,
And brings my longings tangled in her haire.
David and Bethsabe, (Malone Society Reprint), ll. 120–1.

and Marmion

Spr. Your lookes haue tane me prisoner. I am captiu'd,
Bound with the golden chaine of your loose haire,
And on your frownes depends my destiny.
A Fine Companion, 1633, Sig. E 3 verso.

and Robert Baron:

But how could their feets freedom please this pair
Whose hearts lay tangled in each others hair?
Pocula Castalia, 1650, p. 48.

l. 12. *Know no such Liberty*. Compare Tatham's *Ostella weeping for my Imprisonment:*

The ruin'd *Walls* would seem to me
Rich as the *Tyrian*-Tapistry,
So they deprive me not of thee.

Should I with Bread and Water dine,
To make the Miracle Divine,
Thy *Lips* would change the *last* to *Wine*.

Know then *Ostella*, I am free
In ev'ry part, enjoying *thee*,
The onely *Soul* of *Liberty*.

Ostella, 1650, p. 18. [i.e. 42.]

ll. 13–14. Compare *Coriolanus*, II. i:

'I am knowne to be a humorous *Patritian*, and one that loues a cup of hot Wine, with not a drop of allaying Tiber in 't. . . .'

and R. Baron, *Pocula Castalia*, 1650, p. 70.

Now were our Heads with Rosebuds crown'd
And flowing cups ran swiftly round,
Wee all did drink like Fishes;

ll. 17–18.

When thirsty griefe in Wine we steepe,
When Healths and draughts go free,
Then sink or swim, weel moisten thirsty care,
And though the weather's foul, weel drink it fair.

R. Heath, *Clarastella* (*Occasional Poems*), 1650, p. 4.

PAGE 71, l. 14. *And in my soule am free*;

Quoth he, Th' one half of man, his Mind,
Is *Sui juris*, unconfin'd,
And cannot be laid by the heels;
What e'te [*sic*] the other moiety feels.
'Tis not Restraint or Liberty
That makes men prisoners or free;
But perturbations that possess
The mind or Aequanimities.

Hudibras, Canto iii, 1663, pp. 114–15.

. . . this body
I doe confesse your captive, and t'has sufferd
an honourable thraldome, but my minde
Remaines unbounded as the ayre or fire,
Are from their spheares, . . .

Glapthorne, *The Ladies Priviledge*, 1640, Sig. D 2 verso.

l. 17. *Coran's*. Currants.

l. 19. *For Elles of Beere, Flutes of Canary.* An ell was strictly forty-five inches. *N. E. D.* states that several correspondents have written to say that they have seen on old public houses notices advertising beer to be sold by the yard.

Flutes were 'tall slender wine glasses used especially for sparkling wines'. (*N. E. D.*)

l. 20. *pasties-mary.* An obsolete spelling of marrow. Compare:

'. . . oh two lushious mary-bone pies for a yong married wife,' (Middleton, *A Mad World my Masters*, ed. 1640, Sig. B 4 verso.)

'. . . a proper man loves Mary-bons,' (Heywood, *Loves Mistress*, ed. 1640, Sig. D 1.)

l. 21. *Peason.* Peason is an obsolete form of the word pease. Stubbes uses it:—'Doo wee not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (whereof some is made of Rye, barlie, peason, beans, oates, and such other grosse graines). . . .' (*Anatomy of Abuses*, New Shakespere Society, Part I, p. 106.)

l. 22. *Widdow-Venson-pye.* The Venson-pye is 'widdow' because some one has had a cut at it already. When it is finished Ellinda's brother will be able to begin on another which no one has touched. Compare:

'After all this, to marry *Widow*, a kind of *chewd-meat*! What a fantastical stomack hast thou, that canst not eat of a dish til another man hath cut of it?' (*A Letter*, etc. Suckling, *Fragmenta Aurea*, 1646, p. 70.)

and

'*A Widdow.* Is like a cold Pye thrust downe to the lower end of the Table, that has had too many fingers in't. . . .' (Wye Saltonstall, *Picturae Loquentes*, 1631, Sig. B 11 verso).

l. 26. *With Knuckles far as any deepe in.* Compare: 'neither let thy *Fingers* be knuckle deep in the *Sauce*, for that is *loathsom*, and savours of *Slovenry*' (*Counsellor Manners his last Legacy to his Son*, ed. 1698, p. 10, or Dekker, 'when your justice of peace is knuckle-deep in goose' (*The Gulls Hornbook*). *Youths Behaviour, or, Decency in Conversation Amongst Men. Composed in French by Grave Persons* and 'turned into English' by Francis Hawkins in 1646, also warns the reader against 'fouling thy hands or greasing thy fingers', and urges the use of the fork as more becoming 'according to the custom of the best bred'.

Forks were unknown in England before the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the credit of introducing them into the country may be claimed by Thomas Coryate, who relates in a well-known passage how he found them used in Italy. (*Crudities*, 1611, pp. 90–1.)

In the *Gull's Hornbook* Dekker speaks of the silver pitchfork used by the Venetian to carve his meat, and what Coryate says of the Italian's dislike of other men's fingers touching his meat may be seen illustrated in Veronese's picture of Christ in the house of Levi of 1578, where one of the guests, who are armed with forks, regards the efforts of the apostle who tears the meat with his hands with an air of surprise and disdain.

See also Jonson's *The Devill is an Ass*, act v, sc. iv, The use of a fork was for some time the sign of an Italianate Englishman,

. . . . he eates with picks
Vtterly spoyld,
Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas*, 1639, Sig. c 1.

PAGE 72, l. 2. *Loyne right-worshipfull.* The sirloin of beef is said to have been knighted by James I at Hoghton Towers, Lancashire. Compare Mr. Supple . . . 'the Sight of the Roast-beef struck him dumb, permitting him only to say Grace, and to declare he must pay his Respect to the Baronet: For so he called the Sirloin.' (*Tom Jones*, 1749, iv, ch. x; vol. ii, p. 67.)

ll. 9–10. Compare p. 39. *To Ellinda, that lately I have not written.*

l. 14. *Will take out Hans from pretty Kelder.* For other instances of a common expression compare D'Urfey:

Defend the Vertues of your Elders,
That get on Strumpets *Hans en Kelders;*

Collin's Walk through London and Westminster, 1690, p. 177.

or Cleveland (ed. 1647, p. 12):

That name hath tipt his hornes: see on his knees
A health to Hans-en-Kelder *Hercules.*

l. 31. *That Amadis, Sir Guy and Topaz*
With his fleet Neigher . . .

Three of the most renowned heroes of Romance. For Sir Amadis de Gaul see *Don Quixote*, bk. 1, chap. 6. The first book which the barber and the curé seized is 'los cuatro de *Amadis de Gaula*',—'the four parts of Amadis de Gaul'. The curate wishes to destroy it, for, he says, 'as I have

 heard

heard told, this is the first book of knighthood that ever was printed in Spain, and all the others have had their beginning and original from this' . . . . The barber saves it on the ground that it is not only the first but also the best of them all. Montalvo's romance was translated by Anthony Munday in 1589. (See Bibliography to chap. i, vol. iv, *Cambridge History of English Literature.*) M. Jusserand mentions a folio edition of this translation of 1619.

The early English metrical romance of Sir Guy of Warwick is printed by the Early English Text Society. The story spread everywhere in songs and ballads and manuscripts. Sir John Paston had a copy of the story in his library. Lydgate gave a version of it. The first printed edition of the story is the *History of Guy Earl of Warwick*, printed by Richard Pynson in the last decade of the fifteenth century. It went on spreading in every variety of form, from full blown romance to chapbook, into the eighteenth century.

For Sir Topaz compare Holland:

'. . . he summons the Squire of his body *Soto*, . . . to read the Chronicle History of Saint *George*, . . . or the hard Quest of Sir *Topaz* after the Queen of *Clues* to *Barwick*, or of Sir Guy and the fierce Boar of *Boston*; . . .' (*Wit and Fancy in a Maze*, 1656, p. 2.)

Deliverance from Romances forms the burden of a petition in one of the popular seventeenth-century 'Litanies'.

From reading *Don Quixot* and *Amadis de Gaule*,
The Knight of the Sun, with the Devill and all,
From smeer'd Gypseis the great and the small
Libera &c.

Universall Madnesse: Or, A new merry Letany, 1647, p. 3. ll. 33–4.

But now to close all I must switch-hard,
Servant ever;
Lovelace Richard.

Compare Bold's *Poems*, 1664, p. 150:

And *Drink* your *Health*, however fare I,
Till then, and ever;
Your
Bold Harry.

and

But none like him who will be ever
Sir, your true servant, *Richard Leavor.*

Songs and Poems of Love and Drollery, T. W., 1654, p. 49.

NOTES. *Page* 73.

PAGE 73. *To Generall Goring.* This poem is addressed to the younger Goring (1608–57), in whose regiment Lovelace served as an ensign during the Scottish expedition, having no doubt previously made his aquaintance at Court, where Goring was a leader among the most brilliant and extravagant of the younger generation.

After the second expedition he took a part in the alleged army-plot, on suspicion of being concerned in which Suckling fled the kingdom, making 'that odious proposition' of 'bringing up the army presently to London, which would so awe the Parliament that they would do anything the King commanded'. He then betrayed the plot to the Parliament almost at the same time as he was undertaking 'with a crew of officers and good fellows, who, he said, were at his disposal, to rescue the Earl of Strafford from the Tower, and so enable him to make an escape into foreign parts'.

He was examined before Parliament, and for his services in betraying the plot, given public thanks, 'for preserving the kingdom and the liberties of Parliament'.

He was sent back to Portsmouth, of which he had been made Governor early in 1639, on his return from the Low Countries, where he had been in the Dutch service, and remained there till September 1642, when Portsmouth was captured by the Parliament shortly after Goring had declared for the King. He returned to Holland to recruit for the King among the English regiments in that country, and it is probable that Lovelace went in his train. Goring returned in the same year to take a prominent part in the Civil War, retiring to France in November, 1645, and obtaining the command of the English regiments in the Spanish service two years later.

Lovelace may have met Goring again, as he was present at the siege of Dunkirk in September–October 1646, returning to England shortly afterwards. Goring remained abroad till his death in 1657.

l. 1. *at the Foes rate.* Upon the terms of the enemy. The first of the two 'Bishop's Wars' was brought to a conclusion by the Pacification at Berwick in June, 1639.

l. 6. *see't goe round.* Compare Heywood, *The Royall King, and The Loyall Subject*, 1637, Sig. D 1 verso.

> *King.* Lords this Health:
> See it goe round, 'twas to our victory.

and the last lines of the fourteen stanzas of Patrick Carey's

song

song 'Come (fayth) since I'me parting', e. g. 'Then lett his health goe round'; 'Besure her health goe round'; 'But see that itt goe round'; 'Itt must, itt must goe round'; 'Each health still goeing round'. (*Trivial Poems and Triolets*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, 1820, pp. 11–13.)

l. 18. *To Lettice.* Goring married 'his lovely bride', Lettice, the third daughter of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, on July 25, 1629, that is ten years before these lines were written.

PAGE 74. *Sir Thomas Wortley.* 'Wortley, (Sir) Thomas, of Yorks, militis fil. Trinity Coll., matric. 26 Oct., 1621, aged 18, B.A. 7 July, 1623; (3 s. Sir Richard) knighted 24 July, 1629; brother of Francis'. (*Alumni Oxonienses* by Joseph Foster, 1891, vol. iv, p. 1682.)

He has verses before the Earl of Monmouth's translation of Malvezzi's *Romulus and Tarquin*, 1637.

Sir Francis Wortley, the author of *Characters and Elegies*, 1646, Thomas' elder brother, was a well-known Royalist poet.

One line has dropped out of the first stanza of Wortleys' 'sonnet'.

PAGE 76. *Set by Mr. William Lawes.* I have not been able to find this setting.

PAGE 77. *the Curtaine of Lucasta's Picture.* In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was usual to cover pictures with a curtain to keep the dust from them. Compare *Twelfth Night*, I. iv. and

'In a faire large Parlour which was wainscotted round about, *Iacke* of *Newbery* had fifteene faire Pictures hanging, which were couered with Curtaines of greene silke, fringed with gold, which he would often shew to his friends and seruants.' (Deloney, *The Pleasant Historie of Iacke of Newberie*, ed. F. O. Mann, 1912, p. 40.)

I yet but draw the curtaine now to your picture,
The White Divel, 1612, Sig. F 1 verso.

This picture drawn by an *Italian* . . .

Side-note, '*Draw the curtain and shew the picture*'. Hemings, *The Fatal Contract*, 1653. Sig. B 3 verso.

PAGE 78. *my Brothers untimely Death.* William Lovelace, the third son, was killed at Carmarthen, probably in 1644, when under the command of his brother Francis, to whom this poem is addressed. See Introduction and note to p. 2.

PAGE 79. *Mrs. Cassandra Cotton.* The sister of the elder Charles Cotton, and the aunt of the poet.

NOTES. *Pages* 80–3.

PAGE 80, l. 10. The line should perhaps read:

'Or Herald, though by no one understood'

PAGE 81, l. 11. *she lightning hurl'd.* Compare Carew:

If thou but shew thy face again,

. . . . . .

The darknesse flies, and light is hurl'd,

Poems, ed. 1651, p. 7.

PAGE 82, l. 8. *Bitterns do Carol through a Reed.* Compare Sir Thomas Browne, 'Of the noyse of a Bitterne by putting the bill in a Reed'. 'That a Bittor maketh a mugient noyse, or as we terme it Bumping by putting its bill into a reed as most beleeve, or as Bellonius and Aldrovand conceive, by putting the same in water or mud, and after a while retaining the ayre by suddenly excluding it againe, is not so easily made out. For my own part though after diligent enquiry, I could never behold them in this motion; . . .' (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 1646, iii. 25, p. 173.)

l. 13. *Consort.* Any body of musicians or singers was known as a consort. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, iii. 1:

Tib. Mercutio thou consort'st with *Romeo.*

Mer. Consort? what dost thou make vs Minstrels? & thou make Minstrels of vs, looke to heare nothing but discords:

and *The London Chaunticleres*, 1659, p. 31:

We. Here's a Musitian, honest *Ditty*, and *Budget* too, if they do not make up the consort, they are very much out of tune.

ll. 23–8. Compare Jordan's 'A Banquet of Discord' in *The Muses Melody in a Consort of Poetrie*, Sig □ □ 2 verso:

To mixe with these, a shrill Grand Jury
Of Fish-wives fill'd with Ale and fury,
. . . &c.

PAGE 83, l. 1. *Love-bang.* One who loves 'bangs', and so one who is fond of noise, noisy.

ll. 2–3. *for freage of Mate*
With edge of steele the square wood shapes.

The meaning is that Kate is making a skewer to hold the meat when she scrapes or minces it, 'freage' being another way of spelling 'fridge', and 'mate' a recognized form of 'meat'. Forks, of course; were not in general use. (See p. 71, l. 26 and note.)

NOTES. *Pages* 83, 84.

l. 4. *Dido.* Compare Beaumont and Fletcher:

Petill. In love, indeed in love, most lamentably loving, to the tune of Queen *Dido.*

Benduca, I. ii, fo. 1647, iv, p. 51;

and

Fra. These are your eyes;
Where were they *Clora*, when you fell in love
With the old foot-man, for singing of Queen *Dido?*

The Captain, III. iii, fo. 1647, ii, p. 58.

In Thomas Deloney's *Strange Histories*, 1602, 'The Dutchesse of *Suffolkes* Calamitie' has 'the tune of Queene Dido' given as an alternative for the music printed (*Deloney*, ed. F. O. Mann, 1911, p. 389). Percy printed a version of the old ballad in his *Reliques*, 1765, vol. iii, pp. 192–7, collated with two different printed copies, both in black letter in the Pepys collection. He gives the ballad the title of 'The Wandering Prince of Troy'. There is another ballad 'Aeneas and Dido' in the Percy Folio which was reprinted by D'Urfey in *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719–20, vi, pp. 192–3, though the tune given by D'Urfey is different from that in '*The Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle* . . . 1618.' (See Hales and Furnivall's reprint, vol. iii, p. 260.)

l. 21. *Like the thin throat of PHILOMEL,*
And the smart Lute who should excell.

The story told in Strada's *Prolusiones* of

The sweetest and most ravishing contention
That art or nature ever were at strive in,

has been used by Ford in *The Lovers Melancholy*, act I, sc. i, Crashaw in *Musick's Duel*, Francis Wortley, Strode, Ambrose Phillips and others. Herrick refers to it in 'Oberons *Feast*':

The broke-heart of a Nightingale
Ore-come in musicke; *Hesperides*, 1648, p. 137.

l. 25. *Yet can I Musick too.* Cf. p. 84, l. 8. *N.E.D.* quotes no instance of 'music' as a verb earlier than the eighteenth century (1788): 'I suppose you have been reading, drawing, and musiking' (*Jerningham Letters*, 1896, i. 46).

PAGE 84, l. 21. *With counter-wrought and Travers Eyes.* The sense is difficult owing to Lovelace's imperfect mastery of his technical terms. He means that he will attack his mistress with his eyes both directly and by zigzags as though attacking a town. 'Peals' is used in the sense of

 'volleys'.

'volleys'. As both 'counter-wrought' and 'Travers' are adjectives which must be taken with 'Eyes', the hyphen between the last two words has been deleted in the text.

l. 26. *pray't.* *Lucasta* reads 'pray'd', a reading which Hazlitt thought unintelligible and absurd and altered to 'pread' = pillage. This makes nonsense of the two previous lines; the simpler alteration adopted in the text is intelligible and more probably correct.

PAGE 85, ll 10–14. Compare James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, 1645, pp. 8–9: 'Having bin so rocked and shaken at Sea; when I came a shore I began to incline to *Copernicus* his opinion, which hath got such a sway lately in the World, *viz.* That the Earth, as well as the rest of her fellow Elements, is in perpetual motion, for she seem'd so to me a good while after I had landed: . . . .'

PAGE 86, l. 1. *We not behold a Watches hand* . . . Compare Heath's 'Seeing her Dancing':

> As when with stedfast eies we view the Sun,
> We know it goes though see no motion;
> So undiscern'd she mov'd, that we
> Perceiv'd shee stir'ed, but did not see.
>
> *Clarastella*, 1650, p. 12.

PAGE 87, l. 4. *brave Tamyris.* Presumably Tomyris, Queen of the Massagetae, the story of whom Herodotus tells. Bk. I, 205–14. '*Cyrus* warring against *Tomyris* Queen of the *Massagetes*, had by a stratagem taken her Son *Spargapises*, . . . *Spargapises* brought before *Cyrus* desired him that he might be unbound; when he was loosed and his hands at liberty . . . he slew himself. After which *Tomyris* in a great battle overthrew the forces of *Cyrus*, and having found him amongst the dead, in revenge of her Sons death, she caused his head to be cut off, and to be thrown into a vessel full of humane blood; with this bitter sarcasm, say some, Satiate thy self with blood which thou hast so much thirsted after: but *Herodotus* thus, Thou hast destroyed my Son taken by guile, while I am alive and victorious, but as I threatned I will satiate thee with blood.' (Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World*, 1678, p. 381.)

l. 6. *Finding she could not looke, she strook him dead.* Compare:

> Would I could look thee dead, or with a frown,
> Dissect thee into Atomes,
>
> Shackerly Marmion, *The Antiquary*, 1641, Sig. G 4.

NOTES. *Page* 87.

Qu. . . .
Whose Majesty can look a subject dead.
Clo. How? look me dead? I do not fear his frowns.
Hemings, *The Fatal Contract*, 1653, Sig. D 3.
A virtuous Pride that looks Dishonour dead.
Farquhar, *The Constant Couple*, v. i.

La Bella Bona Roba. These lines were printed without a title in *Lucasta* 1649. The preceding poem, 'Tell me, ye subtill Judges', was headed *La Bella Bona Roba. To my Lady H. Ode*, the title 'Bona Roba' being quite inappropriate to the lines which follow. It was possibly intended at first to print the poems in reverse order, but, however that may be, there can be little doubt that the *Ode* was given the titles of both and that the second, to which the title is quite appropriate, should be *La Bella Bona Roba*, the word being a common expression for a harlot.

Cf. Nashe, 'Such goodly lustfull Bonarobaes they were.' (*The Terrors of the Night*, ed. McKerrow, vol. i, p. 380.)

l. 8. *Marmoset.* Compare:

Stult. . . . I am so: am I not sweet *Monkie*?
Monk. Thou art my deare Baboon.
Stult. Very pretty names in faith: I prethee let's enterchange them still betwixt us: or Marmoset, or Apes face.
The Knave in Graine, 1640, Sig. I 3.

l. 18. *After his 'Say, nought but his Keepers Fees.* 'First where he appointeth the Deares foote to bee cut off, and to bee presented to the King or chiefe, our order is, that the Prince or chiefe (if so please them) do alight and take assaye of the Deare with a sharp knife, the which is done in this maner. The deare being layd upon his backe, ye Prince, chiefe, or such as they shall appoint, comes to it. And ye chiefe huntsman (kneeling, if it be to a Prince) doth hold the Deare by the forefoote, whiles the Prince or chief, cut a slit drawn alõgst the brysket of the deare, somewhat lower than the brysket towards the belly. This is done to see the goodnesse of the flesh, & howe thicke it is.' (Turbervile, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, ed. 1611, pp. 132–4.)

The 'Keepers Fees' are explained in *Philaster*, IV. ii, and in the following passage from the character of 'A Keeper' in Wye Saltonstall's *Picturae Loquentes*, 1631, Sig. F 4: 'Hee wishes all Noble men were Nimrods, mighty hunters;

 for

for besides their liberality, the bounty of beasts gives him the shoulder and the Humbles for his fee.'

l. 21. *Rascall Deare.* Compare: 'Her *Parke* is a villanous barren ground; and all the Deere in it are Rascall:' (Sir Thomas Overbury, *His Wife. With Additions of New Characters*, ed. 1632, Sig. K 1); and

Dol. You muddy rascal, is that all the comfort you give me?

Fal. You make fat rascals, Mrs. *Dol.*

2 Henry IV, act II, sc. viii;

on which Dr. Johnson comments: '*Falstaff* alludes to a phrase of the forest; *lean* deer are called *rascal* deer. He tells her she calls him wrong, being *fat* he cannot be a *rascal*.'

PAGE 88. *A La Bourbon.* Compare Carew's 'Give me more love, or more disdaine'; or Webbe's 'More love or more disdain I crave'; in *New Airs and Dialogues*, 1678.

The faire Begger. For a happier treatment of the same subject compare Ayres's '*On a Fair Beggar*' and '*On* Lydia *distracted*'. 'Singing with pleasant Voice her foolish Song.' (*Lyric Poems*, 1687, pp. 16 and 85.)

PAGE 90. *To Ellinda.* This song was set to music by Henry Lawes. See note to p. 30. The setting is taken from the Henry Lawes MS. in the possession of Dr. Cooper Smith.

l. 10. *Vizard of a feaver.* In the guise of fever.

PAGE 91. *Amyntor from beyond the Sea to Alexis.* See note to p. 64. Whether these lines were addressed to Porter in 1648 or not, it is clear that they were written long after 1642. (See VIII.) The suggestion that Lovelace should revisit the Low Countries, 'Your watry Land', and bring with him 'Lucasta that bright Northerne star' provides further evidence, if any is needed, that there is no truth in Wood's story of Lucasta's marriage.

PAGE 93. *A Lady with a Falcon on her fist.* It was the fashion at one time to appear in public with a falcon on the wrist, even if not going out hawking. Compare Phlippe de Champaigne's *Portrait d'une petite fille* in the Louvre.

l. 20. *In silver Chaines and silken Clue.* Compare p. 132, ll. 21–2 and note. The 'Clue' is the thread of silk held by the person carrying the hawk.

PAGE 94, l. 1. *The swelling Admirall of the dread Cold Deepe.*

Possibly John, second Baron Lovelace of Hurley, to whose

 wife

wife this poem is addressed, was at one time a sailor or connected with the sea. His father certainly was, but it would seem unlikely, though not impossible, that the reference is to him. Anne Lovelace was eleven years old at the time of his death.

l. 11. *Her Captive* (*Foole*) *outgazes him.* It is useless to seek shelter in the chariot of the sun as even the lady's captive falcon, 'Eagle-ey'd of Eagle kind', can outgaze the sun.

l. 20. *Nobler is the Shee.* The 'Nobler is the Shee' in 'Falcon's Monarchy' because the tercel is the smaller bird.

PAGE 96, l. 3. *And Drums at ev'ry Heath Alarmes beate.* Compare Cleveland's 'Fuscara':

> Tuning his draughts with drowsy hums,
> As Danes carowse by Kettle-drums,
>
> *Poems*, ed. 1651, p. 76;

and *Hamlet*, I. vii. 8–12.

PAGE 99. *Aramantha.* It would seem at first sight as though this was a misprint for 'Amarantha', but, as the spelling is repeated six times in the course of the poem, on the title-page, and again in the Table of the Contents, it is probably correct.

Aramantha. A Pastorall. Wood says that a 'musical Composition of two parts was set to part' of this pastoral by Henry Lawes. It does not seem to be in existence today. Hazlitt stated with an air of authority that this was a mistake, and seems to suggest that Wood confused *Aramantha* with *To Amarantha, That she would dishevell her haire.* This is hardly convincing as the latter poem was not set for two voices, and Wood certainly speaks as though he knew the setting.

l. 24. *Mercury.* Mercury water was a special wash for the skin. Jordan has '*A Defence composed for his friend Mr.* Th. Ea. *who ignorantly had perswaded some Gentlemen his friends to wash their faces with Mercury, one of them being an elect Bridegroom, the night immediately before the Nuptials, who the next day were much blistered with the venome, and he much accused by the Ladyes, as if it had been done on purpose.*' (*The Muses Melody in a Consort of Poetrie*, Sig. ▯ 6.)

PAGE 100, ll. 15–19. There are many similarities between these lines and Cleveland's 'Upon Phillis walking in a morning before Sun-rising' which was printed in the

Character of a London Diurnall: With several select Poems, 1647, and Robert Heath's 'On Clarastella walking in her Garden' (*Clarastella*, 1650, pp. 42–3).

l. 27. *Heliotropian.* The name Heliotrope was given to the Sunflower, Marigold, or any other flower which follows the sun. They were also known as Solsequium or Turnesol from the same habit. Compare *Masquarade du Ciel*, by J. S(adler), 1640, p. 2, 'All inclined to the Great Queene, (as the *Heliotropion to the Sunne*)' and

> There the flexive Turnsole bends
> Guided by rhe [*sic*] raies shee sends
> From her bright eies,
>
> *Clarastella*, Robert Heath, 1650, p. 43.

ll. 29–32. Cf. Tatham's *To Clarinda, walking with her in his Garden.*

> The Marigold knowes none but thee,
> To whom she owes observancie,
> Opens and shuts at your bright eye.
>
> *The Mirrour of Fancies*, 1657, Sig. B 7 verso.

l. 36. *poore Girle.* The violet. Compare Herrick's *To Violets*:

> Yet though thus respected,
> By and by
> Ye doe lie,
> Poore Girles, neglected.
>
> *Hesperides*, 1648, p. 92;

and *How Violets came blew*: (*Ibid.*, p. 119).

l. 37. *The July-flow'r.* The Clove pink (*Dianthus caryophyllus*), Chaucer's 'cowe-gilowfre', Drayton's 'Cloves of Paradise', was prized second only to the rose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

> What was't that fell but now
> From that warme kisse of ours?
> Look, look, by Love I vow
> They were two *Gelli-flowers*,
>
> Let 's kisse, and kisse agen;
> For if so be our closes
> Make *Gelli-flowers*, then
> I'm sure they'l fashion *Roses*.
>
> Herrick, *On Gelli-flowers begotten.* (1648, p. 82.)

Parkinson in *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 1629, speaks of its cordial 'Vertues' and older writers are enthusiastic in its praises. The 'Castle Pink', as it was

 known

known from its partiality for castle walls—particularly in Kent—is the origin of the Carnation, the Pinks, Sweet Johns, and Sweet Williams.

PAGE 102, l. 19. *writheld.* Wrinkled. Cf.

> . . . light, which shews thy old rivel'd face:
>
> *The Witch of Edmonton*, v. i, 1658, p. 53;

and

> Such rivell'd Fruits as Winter can afford,
>
> Dryden, Prologue to *All for Love*, 1678.

l. 22. *Her breath.* i. e. Lucasta's breath.

PAGE 103, ll. 1–2.

> *What need she other bait or charm*
> *But look? or Angle, but her arm?*

Cf. Donne's *The Baite*:

> For thee, thou needst no such deceit,
> For thou thy selfe art thine owne bait,
> That fish, that is not catch'd thereby,
> Alas, is wiser farre then I.
>
> *Poems*, 1633, p. 191.

> And walking easily to the strand,
> wee'le angle in the brooke
> And fish with thy white-lilly hand,
> (thou need'st no other hooke!)
> To which the fish shall soon be brought,
> And strive which shall the first be caught.

Young Palmus and fair Sheldra. Roxb. Ballads, iii, p. 8.

PAGE 105, l. 9. *But as she heard* Lucasta. Thus far she has passed under the name of Aramantha.

l. 10. *Posses her round.* It was pointed out in the *North American Review* for July, 1864, that 'posses' is another form of the word push, nearer the French 'pousser', from the Latin 'pulsare'.

PAGE 107, l. 13. *stripping.* Moving or passing swiftly. *N. E. D.* quotes Browne:

> The Eagle strong of sight
> To Countries farre remote would bend her flight,
> And with unwearied wing strip through the skie.
>
> *Britannia's Pastorals*, II. iii. 119.

> As the Westerne side shee stript along.
>
> *Ibid.* II. v. 905.

l. 23. *Alexis.* Although such names were common property and in general use, it is possible that the combination of Aramantha and Alexis was suggested to Lovelace by *L'Amaranthe de Gombavld. Pastorale.* 1631.

NOTES. *Page* 107.

ll. 36–7, &c. *How chac'd by Hydraphil, and tract,*
The num'rous foe to Philanact.

These lines seem to contain a direct reference to the Civil Wars. Philanact must stand for 'Cavalier', and 'Hydraphil'—the lover of the many-headed beast, the multitude, the 'num'rous foe' to the Cavalier—for the 'Puritan' or 'Parliamentarian'. 'The Bards Decrees, and Druids rite', are Law, supposed to be given by the bards, and Religion, their championship of which was constantly and confidently asserted by both parties. The meaning of 'Caelia', a few lines below, is more obscure. Possibly she is the 'Heavenly', the Anglican Church. Spenser uses the word in the same sense,

> Dame *Caelia* men did her call, as thought
> From heauen to come,

F. Q. I. x. iv. 1.

NOTES

1659–1660

TITLE-PAGE. *Lucasta. Posthume Poems of Richard Lovelace Esq.* The book is entered on the Stationers' Registers under November 14, 1659.

[Page 157.]

Clement Derby — Entred . . . under the hand of Master THRALE warden a booke called *Lucasta Posthume Poems*, by Richard Lovelace, Esqr. . . . vj[d]

A Transcript of the Registers, 1913, vol. ii, p. 241.

It was not published till the following year, when it was issued with the *Elegies Sacred to the Memory of the Author: 1660.*

In the Bodleian Library and the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, are preserved presentation copies from the editor which contain some MS. corrections of misprints in his handwriting. The former bears an inscription, 'For the Worthiest of Freindes Mrs. Elizabeth Hales From the Vnworthiest of Seruantes Dudley Posthumus-Louelace', the lady's name being inserted in a different handwriting, no doubt her own.

The Trinity College copy has the inscription, 'For the Worthy of all Honour HENRY NEWTON Esq. From the unworthiest of Seruants Dudley Posth. Louelace'. Newton presented this copy to Trinity.

The Britwell Court copy, bought by Messrs. Quaritch in 1924, has the inscription, 'For the worthiest of Freinds S[r] EDMVND BOWYER From y[e] unworthiest of his servants Dudley Posthumus-Louelace'. Hunter quotes this note in *Chorus Vatum*, and states that the copy had been in the possession of Mr. George Hibbert. This copy also has corrections of misprints by the editor, as have the copies in the possession of Mr. John Drinkwater and Mr. H. T. Butler.

These Honours . . .

Ad Faustinum.

Ede tuos tandem populo, Faustine, libellos,
Et cultum docto pectore profer opus:

 Quod

Quod nec Cecropiae damnent Pandionis arces,
Nec sileant nostri, praetereántque senes.
Ante fores stantem dubitas admittere famam,
Téque piget curae praemia ferre tuae?
Post te victurae, per te quoque viuere chartae
Incipiant: cineri gloria sera venit.

The epigram is numbered 25 in some editions but 26 in others, such as that printed at Venice in 1521 or the folio edition printed at Paris in 1617.

William Godbid, printer in London; Over against the Anchor Inn in Little Britain, 1656–77. He printed Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1657 and 1659, Henry Lawes's *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1658, and *Treasury of Music*, 1669, and Hilton's *Catch that Catch can*, 1658, 1667, and 1669. He also printed Sir Aston Cokain's *Plays and Poems*, 1658. 'In the survey of the press made in July, 1668, he was returned as having three presses, five workmen, and two apprentices.' (Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers*, 1907, p. 83.)

Clement Darby is only known from the imprint to this volume. His address has not been found. *Ibid*, p. 61.

PAGE 113. *John Lovelace* was the eldest son of John, second Baron Lovelace of Hurley, and of his wife Anne to whom *Lucasta*, 1649, was dedicated. His grandfather Sir Richard Lovelace was elevated to the peerage in 1627. He played an important part in bringing over the Prince of Orange in 1688. From 1680 onwards he was notorious as a violent and somewhat disreputable Whig. He died in 1693 after wasting his estates in gambling and betting.

'*May* 11. [1712]. The late lord Lovelace was a man of good natural parts, but of very ill and very loose principles. Dr. Brabourn principal of New Inn Hall, says, that tho' he knew and was acquainted with him 12 years or more, yet he never knew him sober but twelve hours, and that he used to drink every morning a quart of brandy, or something equivalent to it, to his own share.' (*Reliquiae Hearnianae*, ed. Bliss, 1857, i, p. 251.) There is a portrait of him in his old college, Wadham, and another at Dulwich. At the time this Dedication was written he was 20 or 21. His taste for drink may have been inherited. Lady Dorothy Sidney, Waller's 'Sacharissa', later Countess of Sunderland, was at one time wooed by his father, but would have nothing to do with him. Her

 mother,

mother, Lady Leicester, writes, 'His person, I am told, is not to be disliked, nor he wants not wit, but has kept extreame ill company, and will sometimes drink to distemper himself. This is a foul fault, . . . his brothers-in-law, who are the best persons that he keeps with, do draw him to that vice, being extreamlie addicted to it themselves.' And again, 'I find my Lord Lovelace so uncertain and so idle, so much addicted to mean companie and so easilie drawn to debaucherie, as it is now my studie how to break off with him, . . . Manie particulars I could tell you of his wildness, . . .' (*Sacharissa*, Julia Cartwright, ed. 1893, pp. 58–60.) Shirley dedicated *The Lady of Pleasure* to the second Baron in 1637 and Whiting *The Pleasant History of Albino and Bellama* in the following year.

PAGE 114, ll. 7–8. An allusion to a picture so painted that it showed an angel or devil according to the angle from which it was approached. Compare Cleveland's *The Rebell Scot*:

> As in a picture, where the squinting paint
> Shewes Fiend on this side, and on that side Saint.
>
> ed. 1647, p. 37;

or Wye Saltonstall's Character of 'An Vsurer': 'Must be drawne like to those pictures that have a double aspect, which if you behold one way seemes to be a man, but the otherway a divell.' (*Picturae Loquentes*, 1631, Sig. D 6 verso.)

ll. 12–13. Cf.:

> But since (my dearest) thou wilt weep,
> Thy tears for holyer uses keep;
> When plagues upon the earth are hurld,
> Let fall one drop, 'twill save the world.
>
> Glapthorne, *Poëms*, 1639, p. 8;

and

> Each teare that falls from that coelestiall fount,
> Is of more price, than *Croesus* wealth can mount
> To by Arithmetick; 'tis of that store,
> One drop will buy the world when it grows poore.
>
> Tatham, *The Mirrour of Fancies*, 1657, Sig. C 4.

PAGE 116. *N'entendez vous pas ce language.* I have not been able to find this song. The line is probably from the chorus or refrain of some popular contemporary poem.

PAGE 117, l. 7. 'But (when you were) deaf.'

PAGE 118. *Night.* A line has dropped out of the second stanza, between lines 2 and 3.

 PAGE 120,

PAGE 120, l. 13. Compare p. 87, l. 6. In = into.

PAGE 121. *A Black patch on Lucasta's Face.* Compare with these lines Cleveland's *Fuscara, or The Bee Errant*, 1651, pp. 75–7. John Bulwer writes on the subject of patches: 'Our Ladies here have lately entertained a vaine Custom of spotting their Faces, out of an affectation of a Mole to set off their beauty, such as *Venus* had, and it is well if one black patch will serve to make their Faces remarkable; for some fill their Visages full of them, varied into all manner of shapes and figures.

This is as odious, and as senselesse an affectation as ever was used by any barbarous Nation in the World; . . .

And the like sober use may the discreeter sort of Ladies, who are not guilty of this spotting vanity, make use of, when they behold the like prodigious affectation in the Faces of effeminate Gallants, a bare-headed Sect of amorous Idolaters, who of late have begun to vye patches and beauty-spots, nay, painting, with the most tender and phantasticall Ladies, and to returne by Art their queasie paine upon women, to the great reproach of Nature, and high dishonour and abasement of the glory of mans perfection.' (*Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: or the Artificiall Changeling . . . London*, 1653, pp. 261–3.)

Jordan writes on men wearing patches:

So patch'd, perfum'd, and painted you be,
Ye look almost as like women as we,

Wit in a Wilderness of Promiscuous Poesie, Sig. † 3; and Glapthorne:

Signior, if't be a lovers part you are to act:
Take a black spot or two, I can furnish you.
'Twill make your face more amorous, and appeare
More gracious in your Mistris eyes.

The Ladies Priviledge, 1640, Act II, Sig. c 2 verso–c 3.

See also note, p. 122, l. 21.

l. 22. *Was plac'd nor foyl, nor ornament.*

The *Muses* weare these patches on their Faces
To foile their Beauties, greater than the Graces.

S. Sheppard, *Epigrams*, 1651, no. 21.

PAGE 122, ll. 1–3. Compare Tatham's '*To Clarinda*, walking with her in his *Garden*':

When you appeare, th' amorous Ayre
With modest breath salutes your hayre

The Mirrour of Fancies, 1657, Sig. B 7 verso.

Lucasta's hair, to which the Sun has given its golden colour, is arranged in the elaborate style of the Court where artificial hair is generally used.

l. 3. *Jessamine.* Compare Jordan's 'A Defence for women' (*Wit in a Wildernesse Of Promiscuous Poesie.* Sig. † 3):

And though he want bread (a sad story to utter)
His hair hath a breakfast of Gesemin butter.

ll. 10–12. Compare Habington:

When I survay the bright
Cœlestiall spheare:
So rich with jewels hung, that night
Doth like an Aethiop bride appeare.

Castara, 1640, p. 192.

l. 21. Compare Baron's *Upon a Black patch on Eliza's cheek*:

At distance, like a *Cloud* it showes
I' th' Skie when Morn doth first disclose,
Or like a *Fly* upon a *Rose.*

Pocula Castalia, 1650, p. 87;

and Suckling's *Upon the Black Spots Worn by my Lady* D. E.:

For if to every common Funeral,
By your eyes martyr'd, such grace were allow'd,
Your Face would wear not Patches but a Cloud.

Last Remains, 1659, pp. 11–12.

PAGE 123, l. 13. *Sent'nel Stars.* Campbell's line 'And the sentinel stars set their watch in the sky' (*Soldiers Dream*) is probably a reminiscence of Lovelace, and it was possibly to Campbell that Keats owed

. . . The legend cheers
Yon centinel stars.

Endymion, Bk. II. 841–2.

Compare Habington:

The starres bright cent'nels of the skies,
Watch to secure thy sleepe.

Castara, ed. 1640, p. 48;

and Baron's 'winking Centinels of Night'.

Pocula Castalia, 1650, p. 49.

PAGE 124, l. 1. *I' th' Autumn of a Summers day.* Compare I. M.'s poem 'In the non-age of a Winter's day' (Lawes's *Second Book of Ayres, and Dialogues*, 1655).

l. 4. *this Almond blanch'd.* The word is used of whitening almonds by skinning them. Compare:

> . . . to blanch your bread from chippings base,
> And in a moment, as thou would'st an Almond,
> *The Elder Brother*, II. iii. 1637, Sig. D 3.

PAGE 125, l. 2. *Blains of Inde.* Sores or blisters. The word survives in chilblains.

l. 17. *thou great good Husband.*

> *Hard.* O y'are a great good husband.

Brome, *The New Academy, Or, the New Exchange*, 1658, p. 100.

l. 26. *So Cato sometimes the nak'd Florals saw.* Cato did not see the 'nak'd Florals'. Valerius Maximus says that the respect in which he was held was so great that the people forbore to demand 'ut Mimae nudarentur' till he, rather than prevent a popular custom, left the theatre,

'Eodem ludos florales, quos Messius Aedil. faciebat, spectante, populus, ut Mimae nudarentur, postulare erubuit. quod cum ex Fauonio amicissimo sibi unà sedente cognouissset: discessit è theatro: ne præsentia sua spectaculi consuetudinem impediret. quem abeuntem ingenti plausu populus prosecutus, priscum morem iocorum in scenam reuocauit: confessus, plus se majestatis illi uni tribuere: quàm uniuerso sibi uẽdicare.' (ed. 1534, p. 45 verso.)

D. T.(uvill) quotes the circumstance in *Vade Mecum*, ed. 1638, p. 88, 'The *Romans* at their *Floral* sports, were all ashamed, as long as *Portius Cato* sate amongst them, to have their mimike Wenches strip themselves according to their ancient Custome; seeming to attribute more Maiesty particularly unto him, than they would Challenge universally to themselves.' Marginal note '*Tit. Livius*'.

Martial in his first Epigram addresses Cato on the subject. R. Fletcher translates it:

> When thou didst know the merry Feast
> Of jocund *Flora* was at best,
> Our solemn sports, how loosely free,
> And *debonaire* the vulgar be,
> Strict *Cato*, why did'st thou intrude
> Into the seated multitude?
> Was it thy frolick here alone
> Only to enter and be gone?
> *Ex otio Negotium*, 1656, p. 1.

PAGE 126, l. 2. *fields of Fueillemort.* Of a faded colour. Compare: '. . . yester day I wore fuille-mote; greedeline; and Isabella; fuille-mote is withered, greedeline is absent, and

Isabella is beauty : . . . your fuille-mote is a withered leafe; . . .' (Duke of Newcastle, *The Country Captaine*, 1649, p. 28.)

l. 15. *Madam, Margaret Pie.* Compare Chapman and Shirley :

Fre. I do ly
At the signe of *Dona Margaretta de Pia*
In the Strand.
Gud. At the Magget a Pie in the Strand sir.
The Ball, 1639, Sig. A 4 verso.

ll. 15–16. The commas after *Madam* and *Meagre* are here equivalent to a dash. Compare :

Svb. (*read* Svr.) What call you her, brother ?
Jonson, *The Alchemist*, II. iii (Folio 1616, p. 629).
P. Simpson, *Shakespearian Punctuation*, 1911, p. 31.

PAGE 127, ll. 23–4. Compare Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems*, 1681, p. 50 :

The Mind, that Ocean where each kind
Does streight its own resemblance find;

'That all Animals of the Land, are in their kinde in the Sea, although received as a principle, is a tenet very questionable, and will admit of restraint; . . . by this assertion wee restraine the hand of God, and abridge the variety of the creation; making the creatures of one Element, but an acting over those of an other, . . .' (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 1646, pp. 169–71.)

l. 31. *Cubbs of India.* Compare Stephens: 'And aboue all, most admirable is natures ingenuity, touching that forraine creature, called by the name of *Su*; which (being persecuted) shuts vp her Cubbes in a depending scrip, and so protects them from the Huntsman.' (*Satyrical Essayes*, 1615, p. 90.) Topsel, however, (1607, p. 660,) makes the Su carry its young on its back. The name given it by the Pantagones, inhabitants of a region in the south of the new-found world called Gigantes, 'signifieth water': The Semivulpa or Apish Fox of the 'Country of *Payran*', carries its young in a 'skinne like a bagge or scrip' (*ibid.*, p. 19).

PAGE 128, l. 5. *As Warlike Scythians travayl'd.* See Herodotus iv. 1–142. In iv. 45 he refers to the Scythians as '*φερέοικοι*', an epithet which Hesiod uses of the snail 'Αλλ' *ὁπότ' ἂν φερέοικος ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἂμ φυτὰ βαίνῃ* (l. 569).

l. 27. *Like a shot Star.* See note to p. 40, ll. 13–14.

l. 29. *The Centaur, Syren.* Eldred Revett has lines on *The Centaur* and *The Syren.* (*Poems*, 1657, pp. 1 and 70.)

l. 31. *mixed Sphynx.* 'Mixed' because the Sphynx was supposed to have the head of a man or woman, the body of a lion, and the wings of a bird.

l. 32. *the renowned Hermaphrodite.* The story of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus is told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses.* Cleveland wrote two poems, *Upon an Hermaphrodite* and *The Authors Hermaphrodite, made after M. Randolphs death, yet inserted into his Poems,* both printed in 1647. They were included with *Salmacis & Hermaproditus: or The Hermaphrodite* in *Poems: by Francis Beaumont, Gent. 1653.* Sherburne's *Salmacis* was printed in 1651.

PAGE 129, ll. 5–6.

That, like the fam'd Ship of Trevere,
Did on the Shore himself Lavere:

Trevere is probably Vere on the Island of Walcheren, north of Flushing. According to Howell the town had an important trade with Scotland during the seventeenth century. 'The first ground I set foot upon after this my second transmarin voyage was *Trevere* (the Scots Staple) in *Zeland*, . . .' (*Familiar Letters*, 1645, ii, p. 16.)

'Other Towns are passably rich, and stor'd with shipping, but not one very poore, which proceeds from the wholsome policy they use, to assign every Town som firm Staple commodity, . . . to *Trevere* (the Prince of *Orenge* his Town) the *Scots* trade, . . .' (*Ibid*, ii, pp. 30–1.)

It is possible, but not likely, that the reference is to Treves—Augusta Treviorum, 'Trevirs' as Coryate spells it—and that this 'fam'd Ship' was among the wonders preserved there. Trevere, however, was probably the name under which Lovelace knew Vere and he may have been there. The spelling is not unusual. A ship of Treveer is mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic Series) under the date August 16, 1655. The ship to which Lovelace refers, however, sailed on land, 'lavere' meaning to tack. So Suckling writes in *The Goblins* (1646, p. 39):

With as much ease as a Skippar,
Would laver against the wind.

and Dryden in *Astrea Redux*:

But those that 'gainst stiff gales laveering go
Must be at once resolv'd and skilful too.

Land boats were not unknown in Holland. 'The force of wind in the motion of sails may be applied also to the

 driving

driving of a Chariot, by which a man may sail on the land as well as by a ship on the water. . . . That such Chariots are commonly used in the Champion plains of *China*, is frequently affirmed by divers credible Authors. [Compare *Paradise Lost*, iii. 438–90.] *Boterus* mentions that they have been tried also in *Spaine*, though with what success he doth not specifie. But above al other experimẽts to this purpose, that sailing Chariot at Sceveling in Holland, is more eminently remarkable. It was made by the direction of *Stephinus*, & is celebrated by many Authors.' (*Mathematicall Magick*. By I. W.[ilkins], 1648, pp. 154–5.)

Wilkins, who gives an illustration of this land boat, says it was so swift 'that in some few howers space it would convey 6 or 10 persons, 20 or 30 German miles, . . . The body of it being somewhat like a boat, moving upon 4 wheels of an equall bignes, with two sails like those in a ship; there being some cõtrivance to turn & steer it by moving a rudder wch is placed beyõd the two hindmost wheels: . . . Of this kind they have frequently in *Holland* other little Vessels for one or two persons to go upon the ice, . . .'

Simon Stevinus, the inventor (1548–1620), was Quartermaster-General to Maurice of Orange. Of all his inventions this interested his contemporaries most, and later Uncle Toby, who of course possessed Stevinus' book on Fortifications, knew all about it: 'Because, continued my uncle Toby, the celebrated sailing chariot, which belonged to Prince Maurice, and was of such wonderful contrivance and velocity, as to carry half a dozen people thirty *German* miles, in I dont know how few minutes, —was invented by *Stevinus*, that great mathematician and engineer.' Dr. Slop on his return from Leyden through Hague 'walked as far as *Schevling*, which is two long miles, on purpose to take a view of it'. 'That's nothing, replied my uncle Toby, to what the learned *Peireskius* did, who walked a matter of five hundred miles, reckoning from *Paris to Schevling*, and from *Schevling* to *Paris* back again, in order to see it—and nothing else.' James Howell also saw this boat at the Hague and on April 10, 1633, sent an account of it to Sir John Smith. Another account of this sailing coach which 'would fly upon the shore, as a ship upon the Sea', is given by Wanley in his *Wonders of the Little World*, 1678, p: 223.

NOTES. *Page* 129.

It does not anywhere appear that this land boat sailed at Trevere, and Lovelace speaks of the boat as tacking 'himself'. If this is to be taken literally, the identification with the sailing chariot of Stevinus is wrong. Lovelace may have mistaken the place, however, and the fact that Trevere was 'the Prince of Orange's Town' and that the boat belonged to him might conceivably account for this discrepancy. The difficulty of the ship sailing itself remains and, for the purposes of Lovelace's comparison, the ship, like the snail, should be 'Pilot both and Barque'.

Perhaps the reference is to one of those models under sail which, mounted on wheels, were drawn in the naval and nautical pageants of which the Dutch were so fond in the seventeenth century. It may, again, have been a ship of fireworks like that 'cunning peece . . . framed in forme like to the Arke of Noye, being 24 yardes high, and eight yardes broad', which Webbe made for the Turks in 1583 (*His Trauailes*, 1590, Sig. c 4), or the three ships devised by John Tindale, Gunner, of which John Taylor, the Water Poet, gives an account. (*Workes*, 1630, iii, p. 120.)

But in spite of the difficulty of accepting the identification in the face of Lovelace's wording, if the great contemporary reputation of Stevinus's invention is considered, and Lovelace cannot but have heard of it, it still seems most probable that he had the land boat in mind when he wrote these lines.

l. 9. *Double man.* The snail, when sick, himself takes the duties of the two men who were necessary to carry a Sedan chair and lifts his own.

l. 11. 'Luyck & Liege, Leodium & Leodicum, urbs Germaniae.' (Baudrand, *Geographia*, 1681, vol. ii, p. 581.)

'The Bishoprick of *Liege*, or *Luyck*, is a Part of the Circle of *Westphalia*.' (*The Great Historical, Geographical & Poetical Dictionary*, 1694.)

l. 12. *Huyck.* Modem *huke.* 'A huke is a womans gown or habit (Huke, pulla, toga, pallium Belgicis feminis usitatum. *Skin.*) Skelton mentions it in his *Elinour Rumming*:

"Her *huke* of Lyncole grene."

"All women in generall," says Moryson, speaking of the Netherlands, "when they goe out of the house, put on a hoyke or vaile, which covers their heads, and hangs downe vpon their backs to the legges, &c." (*Itinerary*, 1617, part 3, p. 169.)'

Robin Hood: Ritson, ed. 1832, pp. cxvii–cxviii.

The first quotation is from Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae*, 1671. Compare also: 'The women have great covertures over their heads, coming from their shoulders, as the Hoyks in *Flanders*.' (*A . . . Relation Of what passed for many Years Between Dr. John Dee . . . and Some Spirits*, 1659, p. 155.)

Courante Monsieur. 'Courante. Sorte de Danse ainsi nommée à cause des allées & des venues dont elle est remplie plus qu'aucune autre; . . . cette danse est très grave, & inspire un air de noblesse. Louis XIV la préféroit à toutes les autres Danses, & la dansoit mieux que personne de sa cour. Elle a toujours été regardée comme très-nécessaire à savoir pour bien danser, & ses mouvemens sont si essentiels qu'ils donnent une grande facilité pour bien exécuter les autres Danses.' (Campan, *Dictionnaire de Danse*, 1787, p. 109.) There were various dances of this name; Marsenne in *Harmonie Universelle*, mentions one 'à la reyne'. This, no doubt, was in honour of 'Monsieur'. 'La Courante', says Marsenne, 'est la plus frequente de toutes les danses pratiquées en France, & se dance seulement par deux personnes à la fois, . . .' Compare: 'He may marry a Knights daughter, a creature out of fashion, that has not one commendable quality, more than to make a corner pye and a sallad, no manner of courtship, but two or three dances, as old as *Monsieur*, and can play a few Lessons on the Virginalls that she learnt of her Grandam: . . .' (Shakerley Marmion, *A Fine Companion*, 1633, IV. i, Sig. G 2.) This play itself gave a name to a dance, a 'Round for eight'. See Playford's *The Dancing Master*, ed. 1652, p. 26. The name 'courant' or 'Currantoe' was, of course, given to sheets of foreign news as well as to the dance, which enables Lupton to make his point in the Character of 'Dancing-schooles', '. . . both Maister and Schollers seeme to loue Newes, for they both consist much of Currantoes: . . .' (*London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into seuerall Characters*, 1632, p. 88.)

l. 26. *meant me.* Compare Middleton's *The Changeling*, 1653, Sig. B 2: 'This was the man was meant me', or Herbert's 'The Church-Porch':

> who aimeth at the sky,
> Shoots higher much, than he that means a tree.
>
> *The Temple*, ed. 1678, p. 12.

PAGE 130, l. 9. *crowned Venice.* Venetian glass was

 highly

highly prized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Compare Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1586, i, pp. 166–7.

PAGE 131, l. 18. *Honour, the fools Gyant.* Compare Carew's '*A Rapture*':

> The Gyant, Honour, that keeps cowards out,
> Is but a Masquer,
>
> *Poems*, ed. 1651, Sig. E 1 verso;

and Suckling:

> That Giant upon ayre will live,
>
> *Fragmenta Aurea*, 1646, p. 32.

PAGE 132. *The Falcon.* Turbervile in his *Book of Falconrie* gives seven kinds of falcons, the Falcon gentle—Chaucer's 'The gentyl faucon, that with his feet distreyneth, The kingis hond'—which, 'for her nobleness and hardy courage, & withal the francknes of her mettell', he places in chief; the Haggart Falcon, the Barberie or Tartaret Falcon, the Gerfalcon, the Sacre, the Laner, and the Tunician.

l. 22. *Vervails* or varvels were the rings round the hawks feet on which the owners name was usually inscribed. In *Occurrences from Foreign Parts*, 1659/60, no. 52, p. 564, there is an advertisement for a lost Goss-Hawk, 'it is written in the Verviles the name of *William* Lord *Peters* of *Thorndon*, . . .'

PAGE 133, l. 15. *The Heron.* 'A flight at the hearon . . . the most noblest and stately flight that is, and pleasant to behold.' (Turbervile, *Book of Falconrie*, ed. 1611, p. 160.)

l. 17. *hut.* Hide.

l. 20. *The Dogs.* 'How necessary a thing a Spaniell is to Falconrie, & for those that use that pastime, keeping hawks for their pleasure and recreation, I deem no man doubteth as wel to spring and retriue fowle being flowen to the marke, as also diuers other wayes to assist and ayde Falcons and Goshawkes.' (*The Booke of Falconrie*, ed. 1611, pp. 362–3.) Compare also Heywood's *A Woman killed with Kindness*, I. i and iii. The 'spaniell', or, as it was generally called, the land-spaniel, was a setter.

l. 21. *And now he takes the open air.* 'When your Hawke will kill a traine lustily, and boldly, then may you goe into the field to finde a wilde Hearon at siege, and when you haue found her, win in as nie to her as you can, and goe with your Hawke under the wind, where hauing

 first

first loosed her hoode in a readinesse, as soone as the Hearon leaueth the siege, off with her hoode, and let her flee: and if she climb to the Hearon, and beat her so that shee bring her down, runne in apace to rescue her, thrusting the Hearon's bill into the ground, and breaking her wings and legges (as is aforesaide) feede her and reward her upon your hawking gloue, in manner before declared.' (Turbervile, *op. cit.*, p. 164.)

PAGE 134, ll. 21–2. Compare:

So on New-markets Jolly Heath,
The *Hawk*, and *Hearn* strugling for Breath,
Thô not in Life yet joyn'd in Death:
Come tumbling down together.
Wesley, *Maggots*, 1685, p. 8.

'The Custom of the Hearn when she sees the Hawk, stooping at her, and no way of escape, is to turn her Long Bill upwards, upon which the Hawk not being able to stop, runs itself through, and so both often drop down dead together.' (*Ibid.*, p. 10, note on above verses.)

A heron will not often kill a falcon in the air in this way, but there is a danger of his doing so when on the ground. Compare Turbervile's instructions quoted above and his description of the hawk's training: 'you must get a liue Hearon, upon the upper part of whose bill or truncke you must conuey the ioynt of a reede or Cane, so as she may not hurt the hawke therewith.'

An illustration of the whole scene is given in the picture by David Teniers the Younger in the Louvre (No. 2164). The falconer is 'running in apace' to save one of his hawks from the heron which has it on its back on the ground, while a second hawk is also on the heron. Two hawks were often flown at the heron, particularly when training young birds, 'thereby the unskilfull hawke seeing that other Hawke flee at the Hearon, and bind with her, will take courage and flee eake with that other make-Hawke'.

l. 27. *her own Bells.* The bells fastened to the rings round the falcon's feet. 'As the Oxe hath his bow sir, the horse his curb, and the Falcon her bels, so man hath his desires, . . .' (*As You Like It*, III. iii.)

PAGE 134, l. 35—p. 135, l. 3. *Hobby, Musket, Lanner, Goshawk.* The Hobby was 'a Hawke of the lure, and not of the fist: . . . They will lie upon their wings reasonablie wel, following men and Spaniels, fleeing upon

them many times, to the end that when any Partridge or Quaile is sprung, they may the better stoupe from their wings, and so seaze on the fowle, which sundry times they doe'. These small hawks were also 'used of such as go with nets', when the larks and other small birds seeing them 'dare in no wise commit themselues to their wings, but do lie as close and flat on the ground as they possible may do, & so are taken in the nets, which with us in England is called *Daring*, a sport of all other most proper to the Hobbie'. See below, p. 161, l. 3.

The Musket was a small sparrow-hawk which was taken out hooded and flown at partridges and larks. 'All these kind of hawks have their male birds and cocks, as the sparrow-hawk his musket.'

'The Laner is a Hawke common in all Countries, specially in France', and was noted for its power of maintaining long flights. 'With this Hawke may you flye the riuer, as well with the Laner as the Laneret, for they are both good, and likewise may you use them to other kinds of flights, and specially to the field to kill the Partridge, the Fesant, the Hare, the Choffe, the Dawe, and all such sort of lesser fowle.'

The Goshawk was a large, powerful hawk, which, 'manned and cunning', was flown at wild geese, cranes, duck, hares, and rabbits.

The 'tercel' or 'tiercel' was the male of the goshawk. Chapman in *May Day* speaks of the 'tassel of a gander'. Compare Burton: '. . . thou shalt be as the Tassell of a gosse-hawk, *she will ride upon thee, domineer as she list*, wear the breeches in her oligarchicall government, and beggar thee besides.' (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1652, p. 569.)

PAGE 135, l. 2. *Banneret.* See note to p. 37.

l. 4. '*new bows'd*'. The word 'bows'd', as used in the terms of falconry, signified to drink.

PAGE 136, l. 3. *direct Hebrew.* The idea that Hebrew was the original language was supported by Genesis xi. 1: 'And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.'

l. 30. *Piazza of her Hair.* *N. E. D.* describes how the word 'Piazza' was 'erroneously applied to a colonnade or covered gallery or walk surrounding an open square or piazza proper, and hence to a single colonnade in front of a building; an ambulatory with a roof supported on the

 open

open side by pillars. 'This arose from the Italian custom of constructing colonnades round open squares or courts, and appears to have begun with the vulgar misapplication of the name to the arcade built after the designs of Inigo Jones on the north and east sides of Covent Garden, London, instead of to the open market-place or area.'

PAGE 138, l. 5. *Dishevell'd Queens. Lucasta. Posthume Poems* reads 'Queen'. The *s* has been added by Dudley Lovelace in the copies now in the Bodleian and the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

ll. 11–12. *But since to Ladies 't hath a Custome been*
Linnen to send.

Compare: '. . . if you want clouts, al I'le promise, is to rip vp an old shirt or two;' (Ford, *Love's Sacrifice*, 1633, Sig. G 1;)

Gentlemen and Lady's, I am sent to you,
Not to beg cast by sheets, a shirt or two,
Or clouts for th' teeming women, . . .
Epilogue to *The London Chaunticleres*, 1659;

and Middleton, *The Witch*, II. i. 121–2.

l. 19. *mine one Monument.* 'One' was a recognized spelling of 'own'. Compare Jonson's change of 'his owne shirt' to 'his one shirt' in *Euery Man in his Humour*, III. vi. 52 (ed. P. Simpson, 1919, pp. xvii and 66), where a quibble is possibly intended.

PAGE 139, l. 14. *the Prince's Arms in Light.* Strutt in his *Sports and Pastimes* (ed. 1845, pp. 373–5) was not aware of any reference to an illuminated device so early as this. Such a thing seems to have been unknown to John Bate whose description of 'Fire-works for Tryumph and Recreation' was published in 1634.

l. 18. Cassiope,
'that starred Etiop queen that strove
To set her beauty's praise above
The Sea Nymphs',

was the wife of Cepheus, king of the Ethiopians, and the mother of Andromeda. Lovelace refers to her after her translation into the constellation Cassiopœia.

PAGE 140, l. 3. *Castara* was published anonymously in 1634 in two parts, with the characters of and poems to a Mistress and a Wife. The second edition, with the addition of eight elegies to 'my best friend and Kinsman, George Talbot, Esquire', was published in the following year. The full edition appeared in 1640, the character

of *A Holy Man* and some sacred poems which constitute the third part being added. Castara was Lucy Herbert, younger daughter of William Herbert, first Lord Powys, whom Habington married in 1630.

l. 4. *Saccarisa.* See note to p. 5, l. 10.

l. 12. 'Aurum fulminans (= Fulminate of gold), an explosive precipitate obtained by adding ammonia to a solution of auric chloride.' *N. E. D.* Compare Garth's *The Dispensary*, 1699, p. 41:

Some *Aurum Fulminans* the Fabrick shook.

ll. 19–20.

When a fat mist we view, we coughing run;
But that once Meteor drawn, all cry, undone.

Lovelace's meaning is that we take little notice of anything near the ground like a mist; we merely cough and get out of it as soon as possible. But should the mist be drawn up into the air and become a meteor, every one regards it as a portent and cries out that he is undone. Compare: '. . . whereof there needs no other proofe but the Meteors, which being bred of nothing else but of the vapors and exhalations sucked vp by the Sun out of the earth, the sea, and waters, yet are the same smoakie vapors turned and transformed into raines, snowes, deawes, hoare frosts, and such like waterie Meteors, as by the contrary the rainie clouds are often transformed and euaporated in blustering windes.' (King James, 'A counterblaste to Tobacco', *Workes*, 1616, p. 217.) and Glapthorne:

She 's gone; what vapour, which the flattering Sunne
Attracts to heaven, as to create a starre,
And throw it a fading meteor to the earth,
Has falne like me:

The Ladies Priviledge, 1640, Sig. c 1 verso.

l. 21. *How bright the fair Paulina did appear,*
When hid in Jewels she did seem a Star.

The wife of Gaius. For her life see *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* 1897, II, p. 297. Pliny gives the following account of her extravagance: 'Lolliam Paulinam, quae fuit Caii principis matrona, ne serio quidem, aut solemni caerimoniarum aliquo apparatu, sed mediocrium etiam sponsalium coena, vidi smaragdis margaritisque opertam, alterno textu fulgentibus, toto capite, crinibus, spira, auribus, collo, monilibus, digitisque: quae summa quadringenties H. S. colligebat: ipsa confestim parata mancupationem tabulis probare.' (*Historia Naturalis*, ix. 58.)

Cf. Ben Jonson:

A diamant, would haue bought Lollia Paulina,
When she came in, like star-light hid with iewels,
That were the spoiles of prouinces.

The Foxe, iii. vii, fo. 1616, p. 490.

PAGE 141, l. 22. *falsify*. A feint. Compare Strode: '. . . falsifying a blow at the head will strike me just on the legs . . .' (*The Floating Island*, 1655, Sig. D 2 verso); and William Cleland

Glinting and squinting with his Eyes,
Like those who uses falsifies.

A Collection of Several Poems and Verses, 1697, p. 97.

l. 25. *quarrel*. For the use of the word in the transitive compare King:

If any quarrel your attempt or style,

Poems, 1657, p. 123;

or *Every Man in his Humour*, II. i. 113–14, and p. 142, l. 14

PAGE 143, l. 7. *Tarquin*. Charles II was frequently so called, e. g. in all the early numbers of *Mercurius Politicus*, 1650:

'She [the Queen of Sweden] hath been lately sick, but now recovered; and our *Cavaliers* would make us believe, it was for the love of yong *Tarquin*; . . .' (no. 1, p. 12).

'They say, *Yong Tarquin* is Landed among his *gude People*, . . .' (no. 4, p. 49).

'One *Rout* or *Retreat* makes *Tarquin* not worth a Pamphlet; . . .' (no. 6, p. 81).

l. 17. See note to p. 40, l. 13.

l. 19. In February, 1648/9, after the execution of the King, the Royal Arms were ordered to be taken down throughout the land.

l. 21. The House of Lords was abolished in 1649, so the Commons was the only house left.

l. 24. *their Spent-gorge*. The phrase would seem to be a quibble on the 'full-gorge' of feeding hawks and may mean 'their cut-throats have emptied themselves', and metaphorically that the knights have been destroyed. It is certainly obscure, but there may be an allusion to 'Pride's Purge' in November, 1648.

PAGE 144, ll. 21–2. See below note on p. 146, ll. 27–8.

l. 30. *his poyson feed*. 'All Spyders are venemous, but yet some more, and some lesse.' (Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents*, 1608, p. 246.) Compare note to p. 151, l. 30.

PAGE 145, ll. 7–8. *As the Rhinoceros doth dy*
Under his Castle-Enemy.

Compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas, His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated.* The Sixt Daie of the First Week, ed. 1611, p. 145:

But, his huge strength, nor subtle wit, can not
Defend him from the sly *Rhinocerot*: &c.

However, in Du Bartas, it is the 'scaly *Dragon*', not the 'Rhinocerot', which is crushed to death by the 'Carry-Castle':

but his victory
He ioyes not long; for his huge Enimy,
Falling down dead, doth with his waighty Fall
Crush him to death, that caus'd his death, withall.

Topsell gives the same account of the elephant's killing the serpent, 'killing them in his death by his fall, whom he could not resist or ouercome being aliue'; and also of the rhinoceros: 'Elephants are enimies to wilde Bulles, and the Rhinocerots, . . . They fight in the woods for no other cause, but for the meat they liue vpon, . . .'

l. 9. *the Cranes trunk Throat.* For the use of 'trunk' in the sense of 'tube' compare Ben Jonson:

. . . I haue told 'hem in a voice,
Thorough the trunke, like one of your *familiars.*
The Alchemist, fo. 1616, p. 617.

A Fly. A comparison might be made with a poem by Philip Ayres, '*The Fly.* Out of *Spanish* from *Don Francisco de Quevedo*'. Lovelace has nothing so good as the lines:

With Wine refresh'd, as Flowers with Rain,
My Blood is clear'd, inspir'd my Brain;
That when the Tory Boys do sing,
I buzz i' th' *Chorus* for the King.
Lyric Poems, 1687, p. 59.

l. 25. *A Snowball-heart.* There is an allusion to the contemporary method of cooling wine by snow.

PAGE 146, ll. 27–8. *the Sun's son.* Phaethon, nearly setting the earth on fire when his father's horses became unmanageable, was killed by Zeus with a flash of lightning and fell into the river Eridanus.

PAGE 147, l. 1. *Auricular.* 'The little finger, as the one most easily inserted in the ear: cf. Fr. *doigt auriculaire.*' *N. E. D.*

ll. 9–12. Compare Ayres:

What Pleasures, Ah! did'st thou but know,
This Heav'nly Liquor can bestow:
To drink, and drown thou'dst ne'er repine;
The Great *Anacreon* dy'd by Wine.

Op. cit., p. 60.

Female Glory. These lines are probably based on an Italian sonnet or one by a French follower of Petrarch. Although in his verses addressed to Lely, Lovelace refers to Vasari, of whom there was no English translation in the seventeenth century, it is not certain that he knew Italian, but this was not an unusual accomplishment for a gentleman. I have not been able to find the original.

PAGE 148, l. 1. *Laura.* The use of this name both here and in the last line of the preceding poem suggests the bare possibility that Laura was Lucasta's Christian name.

PAGE 149. *A Mock Charon. Dialogue.* The original of the dialogues with Charon, of which several were written in the seventeenth century, would appear to be French. Compare the *Sonnet* by Olivier de Magny (? d. 1560).

Magny
Hola, Charon, Charon, Nautonnier infernal!
Charon
Qui est cet importun qui si pressé m'appelle.

Oxford Book of French Verse, 1908, p. 106.

Compare also the song in the fourth Act of *The Mad Lover*:

Orph. Charon o Charon
Thou wafter of the soules to blisse or bane
Cha. *Who calls the Fery man of Hell?*

1647, p. 15.

Various Dialogues with Charon were set to music by Henry and William Lawes. Two are printed in the Second Book of John Playford's *Select Musicall Ayres, and Dialogues*, 1652, '*Charon*, O *Charon* draw thy Boat', a song 'Occasioned by the death of the yong Lord Hastings', the words of which are by Herrick and were first printed in *Lachrymae Musarum*, 1649 (see *Herrick*, ed. F. W. Moorman, 1915, p. 416), and 'Charon O gentle Charon', a Dialogue with Philomel, which is also by Herrick. (*Hesperides*, 1648, pp. 292–3). The former was set to music by Henry Lawes and was reprinted in the second part of *The Treasury of Musick*, 1669: the latter was reprinted in 1653, in *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, 1659,

 which

which was reissued in 1669 as Part I of *The Treasury of Musick*, and again in 1667 in John Playford's *Catch that Catch can: or The Musical Companion.* The setting was composed by William Lawes. William Lawes also wrote the music for *A Dialogue. Charon and Amintor*, 'Charon, O Charon! Hear a wretch opprest', which is printed in Part II of *The Treasury of Musick*, 1669, and Henry Hall that for *A Dialogue betwixt Oliver Cromwell and Charon*, 'Hast *Charon*, hast', which is printed in the Second Book of *The Theater of Music*, 1685. Another Dialogue between Cromwell and Charon was printed in the political play *Hells Higher Court of Justice*, 1661:

Charon O gentle Charon
O come come bring thy boat to land,

A similar dialogue between Venus and Vulcan, 'Vulcan, Vulcan, O Vulcan, my Love!' was printed by John Playford in 1653. It is reprinted in *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, 1659. There is a dialogue between Phillis and Charon in Mathew Stevenson's *Occasions off-spring*, 1654, p. 45:

Ph. A Boat, a Boat Charon, come set me over.
Ch. Who calls hells fatall ferriman?

Matthew Coppinger's 'Dido *and* Charon' is a similar dialogue:

Did. A Boat, a Boat. *Ch.* Who calls? *Did. Charon*, 'tis I,
Poems, 1682, p. 89.

Compare also Flatman's 'Orpheus *and* Euridice' (*Poems*, ed. 1682, p. 96) and the 'Dialogue between Pluto and Oliver' (*Rump Songs*, 1662, p. 339). In William Hemminge's 'Elegy on Randolph's Finger' (ed. G. C. Moore Smith, 1923, p. 16), which was written about 1632, the Water Poet makes an Oration to Charon, to which the latter replies, beginning:

Charron Oh Charron, thou from whom we knowe
the Arte of Nauigation, how to row

Cha. W. Perhaps the W. stands for Philip, fourth Baron Wharton (1613–96), a man described by Clarendon as very fast to the Parliamentary party.

l. 1. *Cavaleer.* Meaning originally no more than a horseman, Cavalier came to be used as a term for a gallant —'hee would bee seen amongst Caualiers and braue courtiers', 'a Caualier of the first feather, a princockes that was but a Page the other day in the Court, and now is all to be frenchified in his Souldiers sute' (Nash)—was later

 adopted

adopted as a term of reproach by the Puritan party, and became synonymous with Royalist. It is said first to have come into general use after the King's attempt on the five Members. *The Lively Character of the Malignant Partie*, 1642, speaks of 'the Hotspurres of the Times, who are called the Cavaliers . . . a name of hatred in the present age by their practises, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by their punishment', as 'the decayed Gentry of severall Countreys, who have by prodigalitie, riot, excesse, and horse races, run their progenitors estates out of breath, and think hereby to recuperate them, for they conceive civill warre to be the best way suddenly to raise their fortunes equall to their discents'.

PAGE 150. *The Toad and Spyder.* 'In like sort, they dare buckle with Toads of all sorts, both of the land and water, and in a singular combate overthrow and destroy them, which thing not only *Pliny* and *Albertus* do recite and set down for a certain truth, but *Erasmus* also in his Dialogue intituled *De Amicitia*, maketh mention of, reporting how a certain Monk lying fast asleep, on whose mouth a foul Toad sate, and yet by the Spiders means was freed from all hurt.' (Topsell, *History of Serpents*, ed. 1658, p. 783.)

'A Toad is of a most cold temperament, and bad constitution of nature, and it useth one certaine herb wherewithal it preserveth the sight, and also resisteth the poyson of Spyders, whereof I have heard this credible History related, from the mouth of a true honourable man, and one of the most charitable Peers of *England*, namely, the good Earl of *Bedford*, and I was requested to set it down for truth, for it may be justified by many now alive that saw the same. It fortuned as the said Earl travailed in *Bedfordshire*, neer unto a Market-town called *Owbourn*, some of his company espyed a Toad fighting with a Spyder, under a hedge in a bottom, by the high-way-side, whereat they stood still, until the Earl their Lord and Master came also to behold the same; and there he saw how the Spyder still kept her standing, and the Toad divers times went back from the Spyder, and did eat a piece of an herb, which to his judgement was like a Plantain. At the last, the Earl having seen the Toad do it so often, and still return to the combate against the Spyder, he commanded one of his men to go, and with his dagger to cut off that herb, which he performed and brought it away. Presently after

the Toad returned to seek it, and not finding it according to her expectation, swelled and broke in pieces: for having received poyson from the Spyder in the combate, nature taught her the vertue of that herb, to expel and drive it out, but wanting the herb, the poyson did instantly work and destroy her. And this (as I am informed) was oftentimes related by the Earl of *Bedford* himself upon sundry occasions, and therefore I am the bolder to insert it into this story.' (*Ibid.*, p. 729.)

'The Antipathy between a Toad and a Spider, and that they poisonously destroy each other is very famous, and solemne Stories have been written of their combats, wherein most commonly the victory is given unto the Spider. Of what Toades and Spiders it is to be understood, would be considered. For the Phalangium, and deadly Spiders, are different from those we generally behold in England. How ever the verity hereof, as also of many others, wee cannot but desire; for hereby wee might be surely provided of proper Antidotes in cases which require them; But what we have observed herein, wee cannot in reason conceale, who having in a glasse included a Toad with severall Spiders, wee beheld the Spiders without resistance to sit upon his head, and passe over all his body, which at last upon advantage hee swallowed down, and that in few houres to the number of seven. And in the like manner will Toades also serve Bees, and are accounted an enemy unto their Hives.' (Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 1646, p. 175.)

l. 13. *Defies his foe with a fell Spet.* Compare: '. . . we would haue spet at him as a toade, . . .' (Nash, *Pierce Penilesse*, ed. McKerrow, vol. i, p. 205.)

Stult. Fub, I am ene as full as a Toad.

Fub. Yes, sir, but do not spit your venome.

The Knave in Graine, 1640, Sig. H 3 verso.

'Spet' is a correct form both for spelling and pronunciation.

l. 17. *Arachne.* See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vi. 1–145, and Virgil, *Georgics*, iv. 246.

l. 19. *thine own Mother.* Athena leapt fully armed from the head of Zeus.

l. 20. *thy Brother.* This is wrong. Artemis, not Pallas, was the sister of Apollo.

l. 29. *Charact.* The carack or càract was a development of the Italian galleon, which was in turn developed from the old round trading ship, the 'vaisseau rond'. A

 merchant

merchant vessel, armed like all merchant ships of the time, rather than a war ship, the carack attained to a very considerable size in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as may be seen from the long and detailed account in Hakluyt of the Portuguese carack, the *Madre de Dios*, captured by Sir Walter Raleigh's men in 1592. She was 1600 tons burthen, had a draught of 26 feet after being lightened and 31 feet when laden, and had between 600 and 700 souls aboard. *Las Cinque Llagas* captured the following year was said by some to have been even larger. (*The Principal Navigations*, ed. J. MacLehose, 1904, vol. vii, p. 116 seq.)

l. 30. *Cathedral.* 'Any ship, from lowest to proudest, has due place in that architecture of the sea; beautiful, not so much in this or that piece of it, as in the unity of all, from cottage to cathedral, into their great buoyant dynasty.' (Ruskin, *The Harbours of England*, ed. 1905, p. 18.)

PAGE 151, ll. 25–6.

An overgrown and Meagre Rat,
That Peece-meal nibbles himself fat.

Motley relates how Sonoy, who, though not a Hollander, was the Dutch governor of the northern part of the country, outwent even the Spaniards in brutality in 1575. He himself sent rats to be used in torturing one Nanning Koppezoon in a manner similiar to that attributed by Lovelace to the Spaniards.

'He was then brought back to the torture-room, and again stretched upon the rack, while a large earthern vessel, made for the purpose, was placed, inverted, upon his naked body. A number of rats were introduced under this cover, and hot coals were heaped upon the vessel, till the rats, rendered furious by the heat, gnawed into the very bowels of the victim, in their agony to escape.' (*The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, ed. 1858, vol. ii, p. 510.)

l. 30. *Her poyson, on his poyson, feeds.* Compare Nash as to the poisonous nature of both toads and spiders and their sucking poison from plants. '*Spyders*, . . . sucke out theyr mallice from very good hearbes,' (*Pasquill and Marforius*, ed. McKerrow, vol. i, p. 93.) 'A toade swels with thicke troubled poison,' (*The Unfortunate Traveller*, vol. ii, p. 266.) '. . . those floures and hearbs, . . . were subiect to the infection of euery Spider and venimous Canker, and not a loathsome Toade (how detestable soeuer) but reposde himselfe vnder theyr

shadow, and lay sucking at their rootes continually:' (*Pierce Penilesse*, vol. i, p. 225.)

PAGE 152, l. 27. *pickear.* To scout or reconnoitre. Compare Fanshaw's *The Lusiad*, 1655 (i. 86).

But the keen MOORS (pickeering on the Strand . . .)

PAGE 153, l. 24. *Periphrasis.* A larger edition or amplification of himself. Cf. Cleveland's 'The Hecatomb to his Mistresse' (*Poems*, 1651, p. 7):

She, she it is, she that contains all blisse,
And make the vvorld but her Periphrasis.

PAGE 154, l. 6. *with each fires.* With each other's fires.

l. 7. *Lar.* Cf. Herrick's 'Larr', *Hesperides*, 1648, p. 148, &c.

l. 8. *Dispatch'd.* 'Dispath'd' 1659. Dudley Lovelace added the *c* in the copy which is now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. He did not make the correction in the Bodleian copy.

l. 16. *First burst himself.* Compare: '. . . though they swell at him with enuie like a nest of foule Toades, till their bodies splyt, and poure out theyr bowels vppon the earth.' (Nash, *Pasquill and Marforius*, ed. McKerrow, vol. i, p. 103.)

PAGE 155. *The Triumphs of Philamore and Amoret.* This poem was written for the occasion of the marriage of Charles Cotton the poet to his cousin Isabella, daughter of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, of Owthorpe, Notts., in the summer of 1656. The lady died in 1670, and Cotton married again before 1674. He sold the house at Beresford in Staffordshire to Joseph Woodhouse of Wollescote, Derby, in 1681. He was born there in 1630 and died in 1687. As a poet—his collected works were published in 1689—Cotton was admired by both Wordsworth and Coleridge. He is also well known as the friend of Izaak Walton, and author of the second part of *The Compleat Angler.* George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, said of Cotton's translation of Montaigne, which was dedicated to him, that, 'it is the book in the world I am best entertained with'. Cotton has some lines on Lovelace's death. See p. 203.

l. 10. *Canton.* A term used in heraldry for a separate space, smaller than a quarter, on a shield. To canton is to divide off such a space.

It seems certain from these lines that Charles Cotton rendered Lovelace some important service at this time. If the lines may be taken literally, he obtained the poet's

 release

release from prison, and this service was possibly the origin of the story of Wyld's carrying money to Lovelace from Cotton which is told by Aubrey and Wood.

l. 11. *Spahy's.* Possibly the hero of a romance.

l. 16. *anoynts out both his Eyes.* Compare: 'And it is forbidden to all Christians upon paine of death, to come neere Mecha within five miles: . . . after the sight whereof, many of their old men (which thinke never to come thither againe) use to pull out both their eyes, after they have seene so holy a sight.' (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. MacLehose, 1905, vol. viii, pp. 287–8.)

PAGE 156, l. 19. *back-flung.* Hazlitt and the edition in *Hutchinson's Popular Classics* read 'black-flung', so some copies of *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* may have that reading. The Bodleian, the Museum, and other copies I have seen are correct. For the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha see Sandy's *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished*, 1626, p. 11.

l. 35. *The twice-born God.* '. . . Dithyrambus seems to have been, in the first instance, the name, not of the hymn, but of the god to whom the hymn is sung; and, through a tangle of curious etymological speculations as to the precise derivation of this name, one thing seems clearly visible, that it commemorates, namely, the double birth of the vine-god; that he is born once and again; his birth, first of fire, and afterwards of dew; the two dangers that beset him; his victory over two enemies, the capricious, excessive heats and colds of spring. He is πυριγενής, then, fire-born, the son of lightning; . . . And his second birth is of the dew.' (Walter Pater, 'A Study of Dionysus' in *Greek Studies*, ed. 1911, pp. 25–6.)

PAGE 157, l. 9. *Piacle.* A crime. Compare: 'let me hear from you, else it will make a scism in friendship, which I hold to be a very holy league, and no lesse then a Piacle to infringe it, . . .' (Howell, *Familiar Letters*, 1645, p. 47.)

ll. 25–6. *Herald Fame . . . In an imbroider'd Coat of Eyes and Ears.*

As pictured by Virgil:

A monstrous Fantom, horrible and vast;
As many Plumes as raise her lofty flight,
So many piercing Eyes inlarge her sight:
Millions of opening Mouths to Fame belong;
And ev'ry Mouth is furnish'd with a Tongue:
And round with listning Ears the flying Plague is hung.

 (*Aeneid*,

(*Aeneid*, Bk. IV, Dryden's translation, ll. 260–5, 1697, p. 304.)

PAGE 159, l. 25. *to free.* See note p. 20, l. 24.

PAGE 160. *Coll: Francis Lovelace.* See note to p. 2.

l. 1. *handsomely.* 'Unhandsomely' 1659. The word is corrected in various copies by Dudley Lovelace.

l. 4. *Glassy-epithite.* Lovelace seems to have had the first stanza of Horace's Ode (IV. ii) in mind:

> Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari,
> Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea
> Nititur pennis vitreo daturus
> Nomina ponto.

'Star' is equivalent to 'fate'; though the Boötes constellation was sometimes known as Icarus. 'Glassy-epithite' means the epithet (viz. Icarian) which was given to the glassy sea. There is further a quibble on the popular custom of consulting the crystal or beryl.

l. 29. The rest of the poem is based on Horace, Book II, Ode X.

PAGE 161, l. 3. *Cloaths which Larks would play with.* The allusion is to the falconer's device of 'daring' a lark with a piece of scarlet cloth. To 'dare' was a term used for bewildering and dazzling the bird with a mirror or piece of colour, or terrifying it into immobility with a merlin or other small hawk, so that in the one case it would approach within gunshot and in the other remain on the ground till it could be taken with a net. Compare *Henry VIII*, III. ii. 276–9:

> If we liue thus tamely,
> To be thus Iaded by a piece of Scarlet,
> Farewell Nobilitie: let his Grace go forward,
> And dare vs with his Cap, like Larkes.

See also note to p. 134, l. 35 above.

ll. 15–16.

> Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
> Alteram sortem bene praeparatum
> Pectus.
>
> *Horace.* II. X.

PAGE 162. *Thomas Stanley* (1625–78), poet, translator, and scholar, was a distant cousin of Lovelace. He was famous in his own day as the editor of Aeschylus and as the author of the *History of Philosophy*; Winstanley speaks of him as 'the glory and admiration of his time'. In 1647 he printed privately a volume of *Poems and*

Translations, which was reprinted in 1649 and reissued with additions in 1650. His translations from Anacreon, Bion, Moschus and others were reprinted in 1651, as was his volume of *Poems*. Selections from this volume, which contains more than one echo from Lovelace, were set to music by John Gamble in 1656, and Lovelace wrote some lines for the book (p. 169). As a young man he married Dorothy, daughter and co-heiress of Sir James Enyon, Bart., of Flore or Flower in Northamptonshire, the anniversary of which event Lovelace here records.

ll. 5–7. Compare Stanley's *The Kisse*:

Freed from their fetters by this death
Our subtile Forms combine;
Thus without bonds of sence they move,
And like two Cherubins converse by love.

Poems, 1651, p. 34.

'Cherubim' as a plural would seem to have been unknown to both Stanley and Lovelace (compare p. 66, l. 12). Mr. Grierson in his edition of Donne shows how that poet, like Shakespeare, uses 'Cherubin' as a singular (1912, ii, p. 195).

l. 23. The correction of the misprint 'of Night' to 'oh Night', is one of those made by Dudley Lovelace in various copies.

The correction of 'Faith' to 'Faiths' was made by him in the copy now at Trinity College, Cambridge.

PAGE 163. *Mr. R. Caesar*, son of Sir Julius Caesar, the Master of the Rolls, married Lovelace's sister Johanna. The copy of *Lucasta*, 1649, which belonged to his wife and has 'Johana Caesar her book 1649' written over the *Dedication* is still in existence.

l. 19. See note to p. 150, l. 19.

l. 21. *canton'd*. See p. 155, l. 10.

PAGE 164, l. 17 et seq. The half dozen mythological pictures by Lely which Lovelace here describes are not easy to trace. Very few pictures of this nature by Lely are known and they probably were some of the painter's earliest work before he came to England; afterwards he was almost exclusively a portrait painter. The picture of 'Love's Queen', however, may be the 'naked Venus asleep' at Windsor mentioned below in the quotation from Walpole:

'Lely arrived in England, a young man of twenty-four, in 1641, the year of Van Dyck's death. He was already

 known

known as a painter, not of portraits, but of history and landscape. But the vacancy left by Van Dyck gave him his great opportunity, and he was not slow to step in; thenceforward he painted portraits. Not much of Lely's early work in "history and landscape" remains; at least, not under his name. There are, however, a certain number of mythological and sacred subjects by him, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, *Europa*, *Susanna*, &c., noted by Walpole in various collections.' ('Some Drawings of Englishwomen From Van Dyck to Kneller.' By Laurence Binyon. *The Burlington Magazine*, *1906–1907*.)

'Few of his historic pieces are known; at Windsor is a Magdalen, and a naked Venus asleep; the duke of Devonshire has one, the story of Jupiter and Europa; Lord Pomfret had that of Cimon and Iphigenia, and at Burleigh is Susanna with the two Elders. In Streater's sale was a Holy Family, a sketch in black and white, which sold for five pounds; and Vertue mentions and commends another, a Bacchanal of four or five naked boys, sitting on a tub, the wine running out; with his mark, P. Lens made a mezzotinto from a Judgement of Paris by him; another was of Susanna and the Elders. His designs are not more common; they are in Indian ink, heightened with white. He sometimes painted in crayons, and well; I have his own head by himself: Mr. Methuen has Sir Peter's and his family in oil. They represent a concert in a landscape. A few heads are known by him in water-colours, boldly and strongly painted: they generally have his cypher to them.' (*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, *Horace Walpole*, ed. 1862, pp. 31–2.)

There is a drawing of a *Satyr and Nymph* in the British Museum, no 15, under Lely, in the *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists and Artists of Foreign Origin working in Great Britain*, L. Binyon, vol. iii, p. 54.

Mr. C. H. Collins Baker has informed me that a small picture of a woman seated and a gallant on his knees before her was at Christie's a few years ago, and Mr. C. F. Bell tells me that in 1911 Mr. C. Fairfax Murray presented Lely's *Nymphs at a Fountain* (no. 555) to the Dulwich Gallery.

The British Museum has no copy of the mezzotint by Lens after Lely, *The Judgement of Paris* mentioned by Vertue.

l. 35. *Hocus-pocus.* 'Nature', says Lovelace, 'gives

 us

us but an illusion of Spring, it is here one moment and gone the next: the painter fixes his Spring on the canvas for ever.' A juggler was known as 'Hocus-pocus'. Compare Heath's *Clarastella*, 1650, 'Epigrams', p. 53.

Epitaph on Hocas Pocas.

Here *Hocas* lies with his tricks and his knocks,
Whom Death hath made sure as his Juglers box:
Who many hath cozen'd by his Leiger demein,
Is presto convey'd and here underlain:
Thus *Hocas* he 's here, and here he is not,
While death plaid the *Hocas*, and brought him toth' pot.

The derivation of the name is uncertain: '. . . the fact that *hokuspokusfiliokus* is still used in Norway and Sweden suggests that there may be something in the old theory of a blasphemous perversion of the sacramental blessing, *hoc est corpus* (*filii*).' (*An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, E. Weekley, 1921.)

PAGE 165, l. 13. The 'hair of day' is, of course, a reference to the beams of the rising sun which later, as the sun grows older, 'shed or change' their colour. Cf. Sandys:

As the declining Sun the shades increast,
Reflecting on the more removed East,
His blazing haire grew black:
Christs Passion, 1640, p. 50.

PAGE 166, ll. 1–2. A somewhat similar anecdote to this of Charles V holding the bottom of the ladder while Titian put his last touches to a picture of 'the Scourges of our God and Man', possibly the *Mocking of Christ* in the Louvre to-day, or the picture on the same subject at Munich, is given in a note to Vasari's *Lives of Seventy of the most eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* in the edition by E. H. and E. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins, vol. iv, p. 289. The story runs 'that once when Titian who had climbed upon a table that he might see a picture hung high upon the wall, found the picture still too far off, the emperor made several of his gentlemen help him to raise the table upon their shoulders'.

ll. 3–4. Charles V abdicated at Brussels on October 25, 1555, before retiring to Yuste.

ll. 5–10. Lovelace no doubt learnt Dutch during his stay in Holland, and in all probability got this anecdote from Carel Van Mander whom he mentions below. The following quotation is from the French translation of Van

Mander made by M. Henri Hymans, as it is given in the life of Holbein.

'Le roi tenait Holbein en haute estime et se réjouissait de pouvoir s'attacher un artiste d'une telle excellence. Holbein fit, à son service, plusieurs beaux portraits, celui du roi et d'autres extrêmement bien faits et que l'on voit encore à Londres, comme il est dit plus loin.

'La protection et la faveur de Henri VIII s'attachèrent de plus en plus à Holbein, qui savait si bien répondre au désir du roi. On raconte, comme preuve de cette bienveillance, une aventure qui ajoute un précieux fleuron à la couronne de l'artiste. Elle se passa à l'occasion d'une visite qu'un comte anglais fit à Holbein, dans le but de voir les travaux dont il s'occupait. Holbein qui, à ce moment, peignait d'après nature ou avait une chose secrète à faire, était fort empêché, et à plusieurs reprises, invita, de la manière la plus polie, le comte de l'excuser, ayant, disait-il, un motif tel qu'il lui était impossible de le recevoir et le priait, enfin, de repasser à un autre moment. Quelles que fussent les instances respectueuses du peintre, le comte ne voulut point se retirer, mais tenta de force de gravir l'escalier, trouvant qu'un personnage de son importance devait être traité avec plus de respect par un peintre. Holbein l'ayant averti de se départir de son présomptueux manque d'égards, et l'autre persistant, l'artiste saisit le comte et le précipita des escaliers. Pendant sa chute, le comte recommandait son âme à Dieu, criant en anglais: *O Lord, have mercy upon me!* (Seigneur, ayez pitié de moi!). Les personnes de sa suite et les laquais, frappés de terreur, avaient assez à faire de soigner leur maître, tandis que Holbein, tout bouleversé, poussait les verrous de son atelier, et, par le toit, s'enfuyait pour se rendre en toute hâte à la cour. Arrivé là, il supplia le roi de lui faire grâce, sans dire de quoi. Le roi, l'ayant en vain pressé de questions, finit par accorder la grâce, à la condition qu'on lui fît connaître le méfait.

'Holbein s'étant ouvertement confessé, le roi fit semblant d'avoir un vif regret de lui avoir ainsi pardonné, lui disant de ne plus recommencer de telles actions, lui donnant l'ordre, en même temps, de ne pas s'éloigner, mais d'attendre, dans une autre pièce, jusqu'à ce qu'il eût appris ce qu'il était advenu du comte.

'Bientôt après le comte arriva, porté dans une litière, cruellement meurtri et bandé, se lamentant et, d'une voix

 faible,

faible, demandant vengeance au roi, contre celui qui l'avait arrangé de la sorte, et grossissant beaucoup l'affaire au détriment de Holbein, comme le roi pouvait s'en apercevoir.

'Le comte, ayant achevé de se plaindre, demanda au roi d'infliger une punition bien méritée par les mauvais traitements qu'il avait eus à subir, mais voyant que le roi ne s'émouvait point et s'enquérait avec insistance de la cause du mal, prouvant ainsi qu'il n'était point disposé à toute la rigueur qu'eût désirée le comte, celui-ci donna à entendre qu'il saurait bien se faire justice lui-même.

'Le roi, alors, se montra fort mécontent de ce qu'en sa présence quelqu'un eût osé le prendre sur un pareil ton et parler de se substituer à lui: 'Ce n'est plus à Holbein, maintenant, que tu auras affaire, s'écria-t-il, mais à ma royale personne', et, du ton le plus animé, il ajouta entre autres paroles: 'Crois-tu que je tienne si peu à cet homme? Je te le dis, comte, de sept rustres, s'il me convient, je puis faire sept comtes, mais de sept comtes pas un Holbein, ni un artiste de sa valeur.'

'Cette réponse intimida fort le comte, qui demanda grâce pour lui-même, se soumettant d'avance à tout ce que le roi ordonnerait. Le roi alors lui imposa pour condition qu'en aucun temps il ne tentât de faire, ni ne permît qu'on fît aucun mal à Holbein, pour le fait en question, s'il ne voulait s'exposer à une punition aussi sévère que si l'offense avait été faite à sa propre personne. Et là-dessus la chose prit fin.' (*Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander.* Traduction, Notes et Commentaires par Henri Hymans, 1884–5, vol. i, pp. 216–17.)

l. 25 et seq. Lovelace, who was given the Freedom of the Painters, clearly had a genuine love for and some understanding of painting, an art which he was able to study with advantage in the Low Countries. What is said in these lines of the indifference of the ordinary Englishman to painting, though he liked to admire his own portrait, is borne out by the general lack of interest in continental pictures shown by the writers of seventeenth-century guide-books, e. g. Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, 1642, pp. 108–9.

l. 31. *Vasari and Vermander.* Giorgio Vasari (1512–74) first published his *Delle Vite De' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori et Architettori* in 1550, and dedicated it to Cosimo de' Medici. The book was afterwards enlarged.

Karel van Mander published in quarto at Haarlem in 1604. *Het Schilder-Boeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe Jueght den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst in verscheyden veelen wort voorghedragen.*

The complete second edition appeared in 1618. M. Henri Hymans speaks of the book as 'la plus précieuse des sources pour servir à l'étude de l'École néerlandaise', and he says of the author, 'Peintre et poète très célèbre de son temps, van Mander serait probablement ignoré du nôtre sans le *Livre des Peintres.*'

PAGE 167. *To my Dear Friend Mr. E. R. On his Poems Moral and Divine.* These lines are addressed to Eldred Revett and were included in *Poems, by Eldred Revett . . . 1657.* In this book the lines *To my dear Friend* | Mr. ELDRED REVETT, | On his Poems | *Moral, and Divine,* begin at the top of A 6 verso and are continued on A 7 (both sides). They are followed by lines signed B. H. and Will. Revett. For all information relative to this book, and for collating these lines as well as the elegy on Lovelace by Revett, I am indebted to Mr. G. Thorn Drury, K.C.

From the two letters written by Revett and quoted in the Introduction, letters with which he seems to have been pleased as he copied them out into a commonplace book, though they did not show him as master of a lucid prose style, it will be seen that Revett acted as a kind of literary agent to Lovelace. I have been able to find out very little about him. He matriculated at Cambridge as a Pensioner at Clare Hall on December 15, 1650. Mr. J. R. Wardale has kindly informed me that the only entry relative to him at Clare is that 'Eldred Rivet' was admitted June 29, 1650. He took no degree. In some verses which he contributed to Gilbert Swinhoe's *The Tragedy of The unhappy Fair Irene,* 1658, Revett refers to the author as 'his much honoured Kinsman'. He also wrote verses before Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Wild Goose Chase,* 1652, *The Royall Game of Chesse-Play,* 1656, Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues,* 1656, and Hall's *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras,* 1657.

In addition to the commonplace book mentioned above which has on the title 'Definitions and Characters. Eldred Reuett', the University Library at Cambridge possesses two other similar MSS. bound together. One bears the inscription 'Eld: Revetti Clarensis liber', and the other,

 which

which contains a number of songs and verses, 'Eld Revett Clarensis'. Both these belonged subsequently to Thomas Evelyn and bear his signature. (D. D. S. 60–1.) See also note to p. 207.

l. 7. *left* . . . *Lucasta. Posthume Poems* reads 'lost'. Dudley Lovelace corrected the word to 'left' in the copies now in the Bodleian and the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revett prints the word correctly.

ll. 29–30.

Not hearing of thee thou dost break out strong,
Invading forty thousand men in Song.

This is copied from what Waller said of Denham:

'At last, viz. 1640, his play of *The Sophy* came out, which did take extremely: Mr. Edmund Waller sayd then of him, that he *broke-out like the Irish Rebellion* †—*threescore thousand strong*, before any body was aware.'

† His play came out at that time.

Dupl. with 'when nobody suspected it'. (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, Clarendon Press, 1898, i, p. 217.)

PAGE 168, l. 1. *sage. Lucasta* reads 'safe'. In the Britwell Court copy the word has been corrected by Dudley Lovelace.

l. 3. *Aeson.* See Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 251–93.

l. 6. See note to p. 150, l. 19.

ll. 7–10. The first reference is to the legend of the suitors for the hand of the Virgin Mary, Joseph being shown as the chosen candidate by the fact that his staff budded. Raphael illustrates the incident in his picture of the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Brera at Milan, where an unsuccessful suitor is depicted breaking his rods.

For the rod of Aaron see Numbers, chap. xvii.

l. 32. *Rench'd.* Rinsed.

PAGE 169.

To my Noble Kinsman T. S. Esq; On his Lyrick Poems composed by Mr. J. G.

These lines, signed 'Richard Lovelace', were prefixed to Gamble's first book of *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1656. (See note, p. 36.) Others who contributed to the Stanley-Gamble folio were Brome, Tatham, Eldred Revett, and Lovelace's youngest brother Dudley, who wrote the following verses:

To my much honored Cozen
Mr. *Stanley*, Upon his Poems set
by Mr. *John Gamble.*

Notes. *Page* 169.

I.

Enough, Enough, of Orbs and Spheres,
  Reach me a Trumpet or a Drum,
To *sound* sharp *Synnets* in your Ears,
  And *Beat* a Deep *Encomium.*

II.

I know not th' *Eight Intelligence*;
  Those that do understand it, Pray
Let them step thither, and from thence
  Speak what they all do Sing or Say:

III.

Nor what your *Diapasons* are,
  Your *Sympathies* and *Symphonies*;
To me they seem as distant farre
  As whence they take their Infant rise.

IV.

But I've a grateful Heart can ring
  A *peale* of *Ordnance* to your praise,
And *Volleys* of *small Plaudits* bring
  To Clowd or Crown about your Baies.

V.

Though Lawrel is thought Thunder-free;
  That Storms and Lightning Disallows,
Yet *Caesar* thorough Fire and Sea
  Snatcht her to twist his Conquering Brows.

VI.

And now me thinks like him you stand
  I' th' head of all the Poets Hoast,
Whilest with your Words you do Command,
  They silent do their Duty Boast.

VII.

Which done, the Army Ecchoes o're
  Like *Gamble Ios* One and all,
And in their various Notes implore
  Long live our noble Generall.

Dudley Posthumus *Lovelace.*

l. 24. *Ut Re Mi.* The first three signs of the Gamut taken from the first syllable of each line of the Latin hymn to St. John:

Ut queant laxis Resonare fibris
Mira gestorum Famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti Labii reatum.
Sancte Johannes.

PAGE 170. *The Wild Goose Chase.* These lines were printed in larger type than the others and given the place of honour among the verses prefixed to *The Wild-Goose Chase. A Comedie. As it hath been Acted with singular Applause at the Black-Friers: Being the Noble, Last, and Onely Remaines of those Incomparable Drammatists, Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher, Gent. Retriv'd for the publick delight of all the Ingenious; . . . By a Person of Honour . . . London, Printed for Humpherey Moseley, and are to be sold at the Princes Armes in St. Paules Church-yard.* 1652.

The play was not included in the First Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1647. In 'The Stationer to the Readers', Humphrey Moseley says, 'And as here 's nothing but what is genuine and Theirs, so you will finde here are no *Omissions*; you have not onely All I could get, but All that you must ever expect. For (besides those which were formerly printed) there is not any Piece written by these *Authours*, either Joyntly or Severally, but what are now publish'd to the World in this *Volume*. One only Play I must except (for I meane to deale openly) 'tis a COMEDY called the *Wilde-goose Chase*, which hath beene long lost, and I feare irrecoverable; for a *Person of Quality* borrowed it from the *Actours* many yeares since, and (by the negligence of a Servant) it was never return'd; therefore now I put up this *Si quis*, that whosoever hereafter happily meetes with it, shall be thankfully satisfied if he please to send it home.'

l. 2. *The Blind and late Heavens-eyes great Occulist.* The blind 'Occulist' of the Eye of Heaven who with his false 'scheme' did not mislead half the number of people that Fletcher enlightened with his newly found comedy, was probably Galileo. Galileo elaborately described the *faculae* (Lovelace's *false fires*) of the sun and in the last years of his life was blind. The man who claimed to have found spots and 'faculae' in the sun might well be called the Occulist of Heaven's eye.

l. 26. *Th' un-numbred dishes of her Anthony.* The story of the Order made between Anthony and Cleopatra, which they called 'Amimetobion (as much as to say, No life

 comparable

comparable and matchable with it) one feasting each other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason', is told in North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*.

ll. 27–30. Pliny tells this story in *Historia Naturalis*, ix. 119 seq. Wanley gives a rendering of it in *The Wonders of the Little World*, 1678, p. 389.

PAGE 171, l. 18. *a rope of Pearl of forty more.* Including the plays which Lovelace has just mentioned the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher contained thirty-four plays and one masque, that is everything which had not been printed before with the exception of the *The Wild Goose Chase.*

To Dr. F. B. on his Book of Chesse. These lines, signed R. Lovelace, and headed 'To his honoured Friend on his Game of Chesse-play', were one three sets of verses prefixed to *The Royall Game of Chesse-Play. Sometimes The Recreation of the late King, with many of the Nobility. Illustrated With almost an hundred Gambetts. Being The study of Biochimo the famous Italian. London, Printed for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Anchor, in the lower walk of the New Exchange, 1656.*

In a copy of the book recently in the possession of Messrs. P. J. and A. E. Dobell a row of printer's ornaments takes the place of the heading and the verses are unsigned.

Dr. F. B. may be Francis Beale who signs the 'Epistle Dedicatory', in which he speaks of himself as publishing the book, or Dr. Budden to whom the third, anonymous, set of commendatory verses is addressed. These anonymous verses were reprinted in *Musarum Deliciae*, ed. 1656, p. 41.

l. 24. *Fox and Geese.* A game played with seventeen pieces called geese and a larger piece which represents the fox. The player with the geese tries to enclose the fox so that he cannot move, his opponent to take so many pieces that he cannot be blocked. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. 1845, pp. 318–19. Compare Marmion: '. . . let him sit in the shop with nere a paire of cuffs on his hands, and play at Fox and Geese with the foreman, . . .' (*A Fine Companion*, 1633, Sig. D 4 verso.)

PAGE 172. *To the Genius of Mr. John Hall.* These lines head the commendatory verses after the 'Account of the Author' in *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras; Teaching a vertuous and worthy Life. Englished by J. Hall, Esquire. Opus Posthumum. . . . London, Printed*

by

by John Streater for Francis Eaglesfield at the Signe of the Marigold in Saint Pauls Church-yard. 1657.

Hierocles was a Neo-Platonic writer, born at the beginning of the fifth century, probably at Alexandria. This commentary on the *Golden Verses* of Pythagoras is the only complete work by him in existence. It was first printed at Padua in 1474 by Aurispa in a Latin translation. The Greek text was published at Paris in 1538 by J. Curterius.

In his *Commentary* Hierocles supports the theory of souls and pre-existence.

For Hall see note to p. 9.

l. 3. *humble Fane.* Hall wrote some verses for *Lucasta*, 1649.

l. 14. *gilt Vice strip.* A reference to Hall's *Humble Motion*, 1649.

l. 15. Lovelace probably scanned the line 'A Sen'tor praetextàt, that knew'st to sway', the accent copying the Latin *praetextātus*. In Hall's *Hierocles* the reading is 'that couldst sway', but this was published two years earlier and a second revised version giving a syllable too much is unlikely. Shortenings like 'sen'tor' are common in Lovelace.

l. 23. *At nineteen.* Hall published *Horae Vacivae* at the age of nineteen in 1646.

PAGE 173, l. 2. *And of the Muses did a Decad make.* The compliment which Lovelace pays to Hall became common towards the end of the century when there were more women writers than there were in his day, each of whom could politely be hailed as the Tenth Muse, but it was already in use in England. See below, note to p. 180, l. 19.

l. 12. *Who but one Splinter had of Castriot.* 'At which time the Turkes hauing gotten the towne of *Lissa*, did with a vehement and earnest desire search out the bodie of *Scanderbeg*: and hauing found it, they drew it foorth of the supulture, and (it may be some diuine dispensation working that motion in them) they tooke a singular pleasure and contentment to see it, to reuerence it, and in a manner to adore it being now dead and dissolued, which being a liue they so greatly redoubted and stood in feare of, that the onely brute and sound of his name did make them to flie away confounded and astonished. They ranne thither from all partes, flocking together in troupes

and companies with so greedie and vehement a desire and longing to see his bones, that happie was he which might come to touch them, or but to haue a sight of them onely: but much more glad and ioyfull was he that could get or cary away any peece of his bodie were it neuer so litle: and those that had any part thereof, caused the same most religiously to be set and curiously enchased, some in siluer, some in golde, bearing it about them vpon some part of their bodies as a thing most holy, diuine and fatall: and they did with singular reuerence and deuotion obserue and keepe it very carefully: being fully perswaded, that all such as did beare those reliques about them, should enioy the like fortune, felicitie and priuiledge during their liues which *Scanderbeg* (by the gift and grace of God) onely and alone within the memorie of man, had vsed and enioyed all his life time.' (*The Historie of George Castriot, Svrnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie. Containing his famous actes, his noble deedes of Armes, and memorable victories against the Turkes, for the Faith of Christ . . . By Iaqves de Lavardin, Lord of Plessis Bovrrot, a Nobleman of France. Newly translated out of French into English by Z. I. Gentleman* . . . . 1596, p. 496.)

An earlier account of Castriot appeared in 1562, 'translated oute of Italian into Englishe by John Shute'. See also Lithgow's *Totall Discourse*, ed. 1640, p. 57, and the Epistle before *The Medal*, 1682.

Scanderbeg (1403–69), the last king of Albania, was born a Christian but handed over as a hostage to the Turks when a boy and by them brought up as a Mahommedan. He was advanced to a high position in the army, and after the defeat of the Turks at Nish by John Henyady he obtained the governorship of Croya, his native town. Here he proclaimed his independence and headed a successful rising of the Albanians against the Turks. Amurath II besieged but failed to take Croya and Mahommed II made a disadvantageous peace with Scanderbeg, who was encouraged by the Pope and Venice. He was buried at Alessio. The Clementi tribe still claims descent from him.

PAGE 174. *On Sanazar's being honoured.* 'I heard in Venice that a certaine Italian Poet called *Iacobus Sannazarius* had a hundred crownes bestowed vpon him by the Senate of Venice for each of these verses following. I would to God my Poeticall friend Mr. *Beniamin Iohnson* were so well rewarded for his Poems here in England,

 seeing

seeing he hath made many as good verses (in my opinion) as these of *Sannazarius.*' (Coryate, *Crudities*, 1611, p. 159.)

For a translation by Lovelace of the lines which Coryate quotes see p. 183 and note.

l. 1. *a blith Prince.* Louis XI of France. Hazlitt refers to the story in *Tales, and quicke answeres* where 'kynge Lowes of Fraunce, the xi of that name', gives to 'one Conon a homely husbande man', to whose house he had often 'resorted from huntynge' and there eaten 'radysshes rotes', 'a thousande crownes of golde' for a radish after he had been 'restored home, and had the gouernance of France in his hande'.

Possibly the extravagance of Louis by which he tried to distract attention from the sickness which was growing on him towards the end of his reign gave rise to such stories. Cf. *Histoire de Louys XI. Roy de France*, 1610, p. 444; *Les Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines*, ed. 1649, pp. 252–3, &c.

l. 4. *Maid of Meurs.* Among the Shirburn Ballads (ed. A. Clark, 1907, pp. 54–9) is printed one *Of a maide nowe dwelling at the towne of* meurs *in* dutchland, *that hath not taken any foode this 16 yeares, and is not yet neither hungry nor thirsty; the which maide hath lately beene presented to the lady* elizabeth, *the king's daughter of* england. *This song was made by the maide her selfe, and now translated into* english.

The first two stanzas are as follows:

To the tune of *Th*[e] *ladies' fall.*

[1]

You gallant maidens of the world,
of beauty faire and fine,
Behould a heauenly blessing giuen
vnto this life of mine.
Full sixteene yeares are past and gone
since last I tasted foode,
And to this houre no meate nor drinke
can doe my body good.

[2]

No thirst nor hunger me annoyes,
nor weakenes my estate;
But liues like one that 's finely fed
with dainties delicate.

For daily in my hand I beare
a pleasant smelling flower,
Which to maintaine me safe in health
hath still the blessèd power.

A contemporary print of the 'Mayd that liued at Muers in Clueland without Food. ætat. 40. The Pourtrayture of Eua Fliegen the Miraculous', with her flowers, is reproduced as frontispiece to the book. The lines below the portrait state that she prayed she might never eat any more 'Cause my stepmother grutched me my food'.

Compare:

Aur. What would you have me doe?
D'you think I'me the Dutch Virgin that could live
By the sent of Flowers?

The City Match, 1658, ii. 4. p. 17.

'Fabricius ("Obs. Chirurg." cent. v., obs. xxxi. *Opp.*,' p. 413 *sqq.* Francof., 1646) has an account of her, with the letters of various correspondents, extending over several folio columns. Her name was Eve Fleigen or Fligen, of Meurs, and she is described as "Morsiana puella". When he published the early edition of his *Observations*, he thought it a case of "prodigiosa inedia" (p. 413). But before the above edition [appeared] he was undeceived, as her deception had been detected; yet he refused to correct what he had said, as he was not ashamed to have been taken in with several most eminent men (pp. 421–3). Before her detection her history had been published in London, in a translation from the Dutch. (Hakewell, *Apology*, p. 440. Ox., 1635).' *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser., v, p. 103.

l. 11. *Lepanto.* The battle of Lepanto was fought on October 7, 1572.

l. 13. *Candie.* If Lovelace wrote these lines as late as 1656 or 1657, the siege of Candia to which he refers was not more than half over. In 1645 the Turks suddenly attacked Crete, and the defence of their island by the Venetians lasted for twenty-four years. The siege of Candia lasted twenty-two. Although the island was surrendered on September 6, 1669, twenty years later it was again in the hands of the Venetians, being recaptured by Francesco Morosoni, Il Peloponesiaco, in 1689.

PAGE 175, l. 11. *In marble statu'd walks great Lucan lay.* Lucan was the nephew of Seneca and grandson of the rhetorician whose gardens were supposed to be more magnificent than those of Nero.

l. 16. *Capuchin.* A Friar of the Order of St. Francis of the new rule of 1528. They were called 'Capuchin' from their 'capuche' which was adopted in 1525 and confirmed to them three years later by Pope Clement VII.

l. 19. *Olio.* A hotchpotch. Compare Suckling: '. . . like great *Oleoes*, they rather make a shew then provoke Appetite.' (*Fragmenta Aurea*, 1646, p. 88.)

l. 26. *his Man's curse.* The original and all subsequent editions omit 'curse'. The word was inserted by Dudley Lovelace in five copies which I have seen.

PAGE 176, l. 2. *Then skin y 'in Satin as young Lovelace plaies.* In *The Scornful Lady* (fo: 1679, p. 69.) Young Loveless, sometimes printed Lovelace in the quartos, says:

> Why, now thou art able to discharge thine office, and cast up a reckoning of some weight; I will be knighted, and for my state will bear it, 'tis sixteen hundred boyes: off with your husks, I'le skin you all in Sattin.
>
> *Capt.* O sweet *Loveless*!
>
> *Savil.* All in Sattin? O sweet *Loveless*!

Compare also: '. . . he is naked, and where to skinne himselfe agen, if I know, or can devise . . .' *Wit without Money*, 1639, Sig. F 2 verso.

l. 9. *vild ink.* See note to p. 57, l. 11.

l. 20. *all marks.* Compare: '. . . a Name, so ful of authority, antiquity, and all great marke, is . . . become the lowest scorne of the age: . . .' Ben Jonson. Dedication to *The Foxe*, fo. 1616, p. 445.

> your high selfe
> The gracious marke o' th' Land, you haue obscur'd
> With a Swaines wearing:
>
> *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 8–10.

l. 25. *Aretine.* Pietro Aretino, the 'scourge of princes', the 'divine' as he called himself, dramatist, satirist, and poet, was born at Arezzo in 1492 and died in Venice in 1556. From the end of the sixteenth century onwards he had a considerable reputation in England, based partly on his position as the champion of men of letters, and partly on the notoriety which he had obtained as a writer of licentious verse and as a satirist with whom emperors and kings were anxious to keep on good terms. As a young man he was banished to Perugia because of some lines he had written against papal indulgences, but later he went to Rome, where he stayed for seven years

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under Leo X and Clement VII. In 1524 he was expelled from the city because of a set of sonnets, the *Sonetti Lussuriosi*, which he made on some drawings by Giulio Romano. In 1526 he went to Venice, the interval having been spent in the service of Giovanni dei Medici, and at Venice he stayed for the greater part of the rest of his life, though he paid a visit to Rome after the election of Julius III, in the hope that he might be made a cardinal, to qualify for which position he had written some devotional works.

According to the certificate he died of apoplexy at three in the night. 'But it was reported that he had been sitting at table in his palace on the grand canal, when a joke was made by one of the guests at which he laughed immoderately. In this fit of laughter he overbalanced himself, fell back, and striking his head against a corner was dead almost immediately.' (*Life of Titian*, by Crowe and Calvalcaselle.) One story relates that the joke was a filthy one against his own sisters. Another makes him live long enough to receive supreme unction and utter the final blasphemy, 'Now that I am oiled keep me from the rats'. His portrait by Titian, a 'terrible marvel', as he himself called it, is in the Pitti.

PAGE 177, l. 2. *Berenice's hair.* Berenice dedicated her hair in the temple of Arsinoë at Zephyrum for the safe return of her husband Ptolemy from an expedition against Syria. On his return the hair was missing. The mathematician Conon suggested that it had been taken up to heaven and turned into a constellation, an idea which was used by Callimachus in a poem now lost. Catullus, however, translated it. See his poem no. 66.

l. 17. *Maccaroon.* Compare Donne's 4th Satyre:

> Like a bigge wife, at sight of loathed meat,
> Readie to travaile: So I sigh, and sweat
> To heare this Makeron talke in vaine: ....
>
> ed. 1633, pp. 340–1;

and R. B.'s elegy on Donne:

> 'Tis true, they quitted him, to their poore power,
> They humm'd against him; And with face most sowre
> Call'd him a strong lin'd man, a Macaroon,
> And no way fit to speake to clouted shoone,
>
> *Ibid.*, p. 401.

l. 34. *drills.* Monkeys or baboons as in 'mandrill'.

PAGE 178, l. 3. *Pissmire.* The ant.

NOTES. *Page* 179.

PAGE 179, ll. 5–6.

Envy the living, not the dead, doth bite,
For after death all men receave their right.

Quoted verbatim from Ben Jonson's retouching of Marlowe's rendering of Ovid. See *Poetaster*, I. i, fo. 1616, p. 279.

Marlowe's lines are:

The liuing, not the dead can enuie bite,
For after death all men receiue their right.
ed. Tucker Brooke, pp. 580, 582.

l. 13 et seq. *Sandys*, *Waynman* and *Falkland*. George Sandys (1578–1644), the youngest son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, was Lovelace's great-uncle. As a young man he travelled through France to Italy and on to Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine. As a record of his travels he wrote the prose *Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610*, which was published in 1615 and dedicated to Prince Charles. Six years later he sailed for America as Treasurer of the Virginia Company and, after settling there, he was three times appointed a member of the Virginia Council by the Crown. He returned to England in 1631 and became a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles I. It was probably at this time that he made the acquaintance of Falkland, who held the same position at Court. His translation of the *Metamorphoses* was begun before his journey to Virginia and the first five books were probably published in 1621, Drayton urging him to continue the work. The other ten books were translated at sea and in America and the whole published in England in 1626.

Sandys became very intimate with both Sir Francis Wenman, who married his niece and at whose house near Witney he used to stay, and with Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland (1610–43), who, highly rated as a poet himself by his contemporaries, gathered about him at his house at Great Tew men of letters and of learning. As a boy Lovelace may have visited him there from Oxford.

Had these two been living, it would have been unnecessary according to Lovelace to defend Sandys against posthumous attacks, and Falkland certainly held a high opinion of Sandys. He contributed long commendatory poems, as is noted by Lovelace, to Sandys' *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes and upon the Hymnes dispersed throughout the Old and New Testaments*, 1636, which was reprinted

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with Lawes' music in *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*, 1638, and other verses to the *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David*, in which he praises all Sandys' work. He furnished the only contribution to *Christs Passion. A Tragedie.* 1640.

'Sir *Francis Wenman* would not look upon himself under any other Character, than that of a Country Gentleman; though no Man of his Quality in *England* was more esteemed in Court. He was of a noble Extraction, and of an ancient Family in *Oxfordshire*, where He was possessed of a competent Estate; but his Reputation of Wisdom, and Integrity, gave him an Interest and Credit in that Country, much above his Fortune; and no Man had more Esteem in it, or Power over it. He was a Neighbour to the Lord *Falkland*, and in so entire Friendship and Confidence with him, that He had great Authority in the Society of all his Friends, and Acquaintance. He was a Man of a great Sharpness of Understanding, and of a piercing Judgment; no Man better understood the Affections and Temper of the Kingdom, or indeed the Nature of the Nation, or discerned further the Consequence of Counsels, and with what Success They were like to be attended. He was a very good *Latin* Scholar, but his Ratiocination was above his Learning; and the Sharpness of his Wit incomparable: He was equal to the greatest Trust and Employment, if He had been ambitious of it, or solicitous for it; but his Want of Health produced a Kind of Laziness of Mind, which disinclined him to Business, and He died a little before the general Troubles of the Kingdom, which He foresaw with wonderful Concern, and when many wise Men were weary of living so long.' (*The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon*, 1759, pp. 23–4.)

Lovelace may refer, however, to the poet Thomas Wenman (1596–1665), second Viscount Wenman, of Thame Park, Oxfordshire, who is placed close to Sandys in Suckling's *A Sessions of the Poets*. Thomas Wenman has some verses before the second book of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, 1616, and *The Legend of Mary, Queen of Scots and other Ancient Poems*, printed by John Fry of Bristol in 1810, is attributed to him. There is a MS. of *The Legend* in the Bodleian. (Rawl. B. 161).

ll. 33–4. *Ringers of Verse that All-in All-in chime,*
And toll the changes upon every Rhime.

 Compare

Compare: 'Thus they kill a man over and over, as *Hopkins* and *Sternhold* murder the Psalmes, with another to the same; one chimes all in, and then the other strikes up, as the Saints-Bell.' (Cleveland, *The Character of a London Diurnall*, 1647, p. 3.)

'All-in' is a technical term in bell-ringing for the final strokes or peal before the service begins.

Wee now are going
To Church, in way of matrimony, some on us:
Tha' rung all in a' ready.

Jonson, *A Tale of a Tub*, II. ii, 1640, p. 70; [*i.e.* 80] which is as much to say that they are late already and must hurry. So the 'Ringers of Verse' of whom Lovelace writes advertise the necessity of every one hurrying up to read them.

l. 35. *Mercer.* Mr. Thorn-Drury suggests that the reference is to Lieut.-Col. William Mercer (1605?–75), the author of *Angliae Speculum*, . . . 1646, *An Elegie in Memorie and at the interring of the bodie of the most famous and truly noble Knight, Sir Henry Mervyn*, . . . 1646, *An Elegie upon the Death of the Right Honble., most Noble, worthily Renownend, and truly valiant Lord, Robert, Earle of Essex and Ewe*, . . . 1646, and other works. See *D. N. B.* Mervyn was Mercer's father-in-law, and through Essex, to whom *Angliae Speculum* was dedicated, he had obtained a commission as captain of horse in the Parliamentary army. 'The majority of his verses are mere doggerel, and display an inordinate self-conceit' (*D.N.B.*), which compensates in some measure for the extreme rarity of his books. Mercer's view of poetry may be gathered from two of the lines addressed 'To the Curteous Reader' of *Angliae Speculum: or Englands Looking-Glasse*, to which he prefixed two Sonnets in commendation of himself and of his work:

And dare protest for each year of my age,
I never read of verses not a page:

or

The humble petition of Captain William Mercer,
Who 's forc'd to leave of prose, and turn a Verser.

Sig. o 3.

l. 37. *an Ell of Epigram.* Some of Mercer's epigrams in the second part of *Angliae Speculum*, 'Consisting of severall Speeches, Anagrams, Epigrams, Acrosticks, and Sonnets, &c.', run to a couple of pages.

PAGE 180, l. 9. *Crispinus.* The name under which Jonson attacked Marston in *The Poetaster*, 1601.

ll. 11–12 and 15.

He still did stand
Honour'd, and held his forehead to thy brand.
. . . . . .
Well mightst thou rive thy Quill up to the Back.

A reminiscence of Ben Jonson's own 'Apologeticall Dialogue' appended to the folio text of *The Poetaster*. The lines in both cases are spoken by the author:

Or, liuing, I could stampe
Their foreheads with those deepe, and publike brands
That the whole company of *Barber-Surgeons*
Should not take off, with all their art, and playsters.
. . . . . .
O, this would make a learn'd, and liberall soule,
To riue his stayned quill, vp to the back,
And damne his long-watch'd labours to the fire;
fo. 1616, pp. 352–3.

ll. 19–34. The various ladies whom Lovelace attacks cannot be identified with certainty. He refers particularly to married women and may have had in mind Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, the 'mad, conceited, ridiculous woman' as Pepys called her, Charles Lamb's 'princely woman, the thrice noble Margaret Newcastle', and possibly Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, Lady Howe, and Anne Collins. The Duchess of Newcastle's *Poems and Fancies* and *Philosophical Fancies* were published in 1653, but the bulk of her work was not printed till after Lovelace's death. Anne Bradstreet's *The Tenth Muse, lately sprung up in America* was published in London in 1650. Anne King, who married in turn John Dutton and Sir Richard Howe, wrote but did not publish any verse. Henry King has a poem 'To my Sister Anne King, who chid me in verse for being angry'. (*Poems*, 1657, p. 83.) James Howell wrote some lines 'For the admitting of Mrs. *Ann King* to be the Tenth Muse', and said, 'they are a choice race of Brothers, and it seems the same Genius diffuseth itself also among the Sisters'. In another letter he says that he thought to bequeath 'my Poetry, such as it is, to Mistress *A. K.*, who I know is a great minion of the Muses'. (*Familiar Letters*, ed. Jacobs, pp. 406 and 422.) Anne Collins' *Divine Songs and Meditations* was printed in 1653. (Brydges' *Restituta*, 1815, vol. iii, p. 123.)

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The majority of 'celebrated scribbling women' did not come into prominence till after the Restoration, but in his 'Il Insonio Insonnadado', published with the *Albino and Bellama* in 1638, Nathaniel Whiting seems to refer to a poetess:

> Up comes the Marget with a mincing pace,
> A city-stride, court-garb, and smirking face,
> *Caroline Poets*, ed. Saintsbury, vol. iii, p. 543.

Nicholas Oldisworth in a MS. volume of poems belonging to Messrs. P. J. and A. E. Dobell also addresses some lines 'To the worshipfull, M^ris^ Strange of Summerford, a Poëtesse' who was his cousin.

The 'one *Sapho* left may save them all' is, perhaps, Katherine Philips, the 'Matchless Orinda' who, though she had printed nothing by the time of Lovelace's death except some commendatory verses which were included among the large collection prefixed to Cartwright's *Poems* in 1651—her collected poems were published in 1667, a pirated edition having appeared three years earlier—was already well known as a poetess. In the same year as Cartwright's poems were printed, Vaughan addressed some lines to her, praising her 'rich numbers' in *Olor Iscanus*. Mrs. Philips has some verses to him 'On his Poems'. It is not impossible, however, that the Society which was formed by Katherine Philips, and the friendship with the female members of it which she particularly celebrates in her poems, were the real objects of Lovelace's satire. It has been suggested above that Lucasta may have been a member of the family of Lucas. If this was so it is worth noting that the Duchess of Newcastle was 'Daughter to *Thomas Lucas* of St. *Johns* near *Colchester*, in *Essex*, Esquire', and Lovelace may, in consequence, have intended to pay a compliment to a relation of Lucasta.

PAGE 181, l. 6. *angerly*. Compare:

> Hee . . . angerly calculates his cost, . . .
> Hall, *Characters of Vertues and Vices*, 1608, p. 169,
> How sweet she smil'd, and angerly she frown'd.
> Chalkhill, *Thealma and Clearchus*, 1683, p. 75;
> And all its curtains of Aurorian clouds
> Flush'd angerly:
> Keats, *Hyperion*, i. 182.

l. 8. Juvenal's 'Difficile est saturam non scribere' (*Satires*, i. 30).

PAGE 182. *Translationes*. The printers of *Lucasta*,

1659, frequently got muddled over the catchwords in the *Translations* which occupy pp. 86–107. In five cases the catchword is given for the next page instead of the next page but one, which would continue the original texts or the translations as the case may be, and in three others the word is wrongly spelt or given wrong.

PAGE 183. *Sanazar's Hexastick.* Robert Baron wrote the following Antithesis, *to the conclusion of* Sannazarius *his Epigram on the City of* Venice, *which when he has compared to* Rome, *he saies*

Illam homines, dices, hanc posuisse Deos.

Those men you'l say,
These stones the Gods did lay.
In silence be the worlds Seven wonders lost,
Thy stately Hills Proud *Rome*, no longer boast.
See here! men dwell with Fish! a City stands
I' th' water! and the God thereof commands!
Neptunes great Realm 's invaded thus, and tam'd!
Not Men (you say) but Gods, this Wonder fram'd,
That makes the wonder lesse; tis *Venice's* praise
That mortall Men, not Gods such Piles could raise.

Pocula Castalia, 1650, p. 122.

There is another translation given in *Wits Recreations*, Hotten's reprint, n.d. pp. 64–5. Howell translated the same epigram, *Familiar Letters*, 1645, p. 68, '*Sanzanarus*', he remarks, 'had given him by Saint *Mark* a hundred *Zecchins*, for evry one of these Verses, which amounts to about 300 pounds. It would be long before the Citie of *London* would do the like: . . .'

He has a different version prefixed to his *Survay of the Signorie of Venice*, 1651.

PAGE 186. *De Puero & Præcone.* This epigram would be 107 according to the numbering followed by Lovelace.

ll. 20–7. These two epigrams were given as one in *Lucasta.* They are clearly different, and only the first is printed in *Diversorum Veterum Poetarum in Priapum Lusus*, &c., 1517, as by Quintus Catulus (p. 79 verso). I have not found the second, which is probably not by Catulus.

PAGES 188–90. *Epigrams from Ausonius.* These epigrams have been collated with three editions of Ausonius, that of Scaliger printed at Lyons in 1574–5 in two vols. (the Epigrams coming in the volume of 1575), an edition printed at Amsterdam in 1629, and the *Corpus* printed at Lyons in 1603. The references in the Textual Notes are

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to Scaliger's edition of 1575. The epigrams are numbers 14, 52, 21, 11, 10, and 43.

PAGE 189, ll. 5–8. Brome has the following translation:

On a Hare.

A Hare unsafe by land, leap'd into th' *main*,
Flying land-dogs, was by a sea-dog slain.
Poor worm! flies she to *Earth*, to *Sea*, to *Skie*,
Each hath a *dog*, and she by *dogs* must dye.

Songs And other Poems, ed. 1664, p. 296.

PAGE 190. *Theophile.* Théophile Viaud or De Viau (1591–1626) was banished in 1619 by Louis XIII because of various satires which he had written. Coming to London and being unable to obtain an audience of James I, he wrote this epigram. I do not find it in the 1622 edition, the second, of his works, or in the edition of 1629, the only two of over twenty seventeenth-century editions I have seen. It is not in the 1660 edition of *Le Parnasse Satyrique*, but his connexion with this book is doubtful. It is printed, however, on p. 126 of vol. iii of *Recueil des plus belles pieces Des Poëtes François*, 1692. Swinburne described Théophile, who was highly praised by Gautier, as 'a born Huguenot, nominal Papist, and natural Pagan; . . . the supreme libertine and perfect poet of his time'. He compared Théophile with Crashaw, 'a Christianized Théophile, . . . a far smaller figure, a much weaker and perverser man; . . .' (*Théophile*, ed. Gosse, 1915, pp. 11 and 21.)

ll. 10–11. Lovelace has here omitted two lines which in the 1575 edition of Ausonius read:

Extremos pereunte modos à fine reducens,
Ludificata sequor verba aliena meis.

ll. 16–17. Lovelace here omits two lines:

Diuidat haec si quis: faciunt discreta venenum.
Antidotum sumet, qui sociata bibet.

PAGE 191, ll. 7–12. Charles Cotton translated this epigram. See *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1689, pp. 611–12.

ll. 14. *to.* See note to p. 20, l. 24.

PAGE 192. *Avieni.* In Wernsdorf's edition of Avienus, 1848, p. 133, there are two further lines to this epigram:

Dum parvus lychnus modicum consumit olivi;
Haec dat nocturnis nox lucubrata Camoenis.

l. 9. The spelling 'dii' is found in seventeenth-century editions of Catulus. It is, of course, a monosyllable.

PAGE 193, l. 11. *Olio.* See note p. 175, l. 19.

ll. 22–5. R. Fletcher translated this epigram in *Ex otio Negotium, or, Martiall his Epigrams Translated*, 1656, p. 3. There is a version by Nahum Tate, *Poems*, 1677, p. 82.

ll. 26–31. Also translated by Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

PAGE 194. *Martial. Epigrams*, Bk. 6. 15 *and* Bk. 4. 33. Old editions of Martial differ considerably in the numbering of the epigrams. The numbers adopted by Lovelace follow the folio edition printed at Paris in 1617 and the *Corpvs Omnivm Vetrvm Poetarvm Latinorvm*, Lyons, 1603, except that he gives the number 33 to the epigram from the fourth book which these editions number 32, but this may be a slip. The text also agrees with the folio, though where that, in common with other editions, reads 'nunc preciosa', *Lucasta* reads 'jam'. Lovelace may have written down the epigrams from memory; it is curious that he should have transposed the last two lines of these two epigrams, giving to that from Book 6 the lines belonging to the epigram in Book 4 and vice versa. It is hardly likely to be a printer's error as, even if he did confuse the Latin lines, the printer would not have altered the English version as well. It is also unlikely that any edition of Martial gives the readings printed in *Lucasta* as the epigrams come from different books, and editions of 1595, 1602, 1603, 1615, 1617, 1619, and 1621 all print the same version.

PAGE 195, ll. 9–10. *De Cinna, Epig.* 19.

Cinna would seem to need,
And so he does indeed.

R. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Cinna would fain be thought to need,
And so he does, he's poor indeed.

Charles Cotton, *Poems*, 1689, p. 563.

ll. 23–6. Brome has the following:

Out of Catullus.

My Mistress saith she'll marry none but me,
Though *Jove* himself should force her unto it:
But *Womens* words unto their lovers be
So firm, they may in wind or waves be writ.

Songs And other Poems, ed. 1664, p. 297.

PAGE 196. *De Amore suo.* This epigram is printed in *Lucasta* as the last two lines of epigram 73, without break or separate title. It is, of course, a different epigram which,

 according

according to the numbering followed by Lovelace, should be 86. The title here printed is that given in editions of Catullus of the first half of the seventeenth century.

PAGE 203, ll. 31–2. *I have found my name*
Fix'd in the living Chronicle of Fame.

Lovelace addressed *The Triumphs of Philamore and Amoret* to the 'Best of Friends, *Charles Cotton* Esquire.' See p. 155.

PAGE 204. *Charles Cotton.* These lines were reprinted in *Poems on several Occasions. Written by Charles Cotton, Esq; London*, . . . 1689, p. 481.

Jam. Howell. These lines were reprinted on p. 126 of *Poems on several Choice and Various Subjects. Occasionally Composed By An Eminent Author. Collected and Published By Sergeant-Major P. F. London: Printed by Ja: Cottrel; and are to be sold by S. Speed, at the Rain-bow in Fleetstreet, near the inner Temple-gate.* 1663. P. F. stands for Payne Fisher, who dedicated the volume to Henry King. This book is found with two other title-pages, both dated 1664: *Mr. Howel's Poems Upon divers Emergent Occasions. London: Printed by James Cottrel*, 1664, and *Poems Upon divers Emergent Occasions: By James Hovvell Esquire. London: Printed by Ja: Cotterel; and are to be sold in Exchange-alley neer Lombard-street, 1664.*

There are some differences between the two versions, the last two lines being changed to:

Such sparks that with their Atoms may inspire
The Reader with a pure *Poetik* fire.

PAGE 207, l 12. *a Spaniard.* Compare: '. . . And evry one knowes the tale of *Pacheco* the Spanish Ambassador, who coming out of curiosity to see this Tresury, [i.e. St. Mark's] fell a groping whether it had any bottom, and being asked why? he answerd, *In this among other things my great Masters Tresures differs from yours, that* his *hath no bottom as yours I find hath*, alluding thereby to the Mines of *Mexico* and *Potosi.*' (Howell, *A Survay of the Signorie of Venice*, 1651, p. 38.)

l. 30. *That it might comprehend what could not it.* 'But howsoever he taught, or whatsoever he thought, this we find, that nothing troubled him more. For (as *Cœlius Rhodiginus* writeth) when he had tudied long about it, and at the last being weary, he died through the tediousnesse of such an intricate doubt. Some say he drowned himself in *Negropont*, or *Euripus*, because he could find

no reason why it had so various a fluxion and refluxion, ebbing and flowing seven times a day at the least; adding, before that his untimely and disastrous precipitation, these words, Ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστοτέλης οὐχ (*sic*) εἷλε τὸν Εὔριπον, Εὔριπος ἑχέτω τὸν Αριστοτέλη. *Quandoquidem Aristoteles non cepit Euripũ, Euripus capiat Aristotelem;* That is, *Although Aristotle hath not taken Euripus, yet Euripus shall take Aristotle*: meaning that that should end him, whose cause could not be comprehended by him.' (John Swan, *Speculum Mundi*, 1644, pp. 203–4.)

PAGE 208. *El. Revett.* See note to p. 167, and Introduction. To what is there said may be added the following information sent to me by Mr. Thorn-Drury. In the *Visitation of Suffolk, 1612*, ed. Metcalfe, 1882, p. 162, is the entry 'Ryvett of Rishangles Mary da. of Thomas R. m. John Eldred of London Esq.' This seems to explain how Eldred Revett got his first name. In the *Middle Temple Records*, iii. 1039. Admissions, 1652, 7 July: Mr. Eldred son and heir apparent of Thomas Revett of Rushangles [*sic*] Suffolk, gent., specially, bound with Mr. Philip Sheppard and his father,—fine £3.

An Elegie. These lines were written by Samuel Holland and were separately published on a single folio leaf, headed 'The Death Of My | Much Honoured Friend, | Colonel *Richard Lovelace.* | An Elegie'. They are signed 'Samuel Holland' and a deep black line of mourning is printed on both sides of the verses.

Next to the copy in the University Library, Cambridge (Sel. 3. 162[12]), are bound verses by Holland 'On the Death of Mr. *Marmaduke Scot.* An Elegie', printed in the same style. The broadside is undated, but knowledge of the date of its publication would help little in determining the date of Lovelace's death as it was clearly written some time after the event—'Lovelace hath long been dead'—and probably especially for Dudley Lovelace's collection of *Elegies.* It may be noted, however, that the expression 'hath long been dead' is more appropriate to 1657 than to 1658.

Holland also wrote *Wit and Fancy In a Maze. Or the Incomparable Champion of Love and Beautie. A Mock-Romance* . . . 1656, which was reissued with a new title-page as *Romancio-Mastrix: or a Romance on Romances*, in 1660. It was reprinted as *The Spaniard: or Don Zara de Fogo*, in 1719. According to a note in the Malone

 copy

copy in the Bodleian, Ritson stated the book was originally issued as *Don Zara del Fogo. A Mock Romance*, in 1656.

Holland also contributed some lines to *Epigrams Theological, Philosophical, And Romantick*, by S. Shephard in 1651, and published *A Panegyrick on the Coronation of His Most Sacred Majesty King Charles II* in 1661, and other verses.

PAGE 209, l. 28. *tam Marti, quam Mercurio.* This motto was used by George Gascoigne and Sir Walter Raleigh. It occurs for instance under the portrait of the author prefixed to *The whole woorkes of George Gascoigne Esquyre:* ... 1587, and the phrase was in common use. Cf.:

> ... what company soever we come in:
> The Souldier and the Scholler peekt up so,
> Will make *tam Marti, quam Mercurio.*

H. Shirley, *The Martyr'd Souldier*, 1638, Sig. G 3.

PAGE 211, l. 24. *pure soul.* The correction of 'poor' to 'pure' is one of those made by Dudley Lovelace in some of his presentation copies.

PAGE 212. *Symon Ognell.* Mr. V. G. Plarr, Librarian to the Royal College of Surgeons, informs me that there is no record of Ognell in the books or lists of the Royal College. His medical degree must have been taken at the University of Coningsberg which was founded by Duke Albert of Brandenburg in 1544.

l. 28. The change from *Zephre* to *Zephire* is one of those made by Dudley Lovelace in the Bodleian copy.

PAGE 214. These lines were contributed to J. D.'s translation of Voiture's *Letters of Affaires Love and Courtship*, 1657. (See Introduction under Text of the Poems.) J. D. was John Davies of Kidwelly (1627–93), who after travelling in France returned to England about 1652 and employed himself in translating for the booksellers. (See *D. N. B.*) He was a friend of John Hall and prefixed an account of the translator and his works to *Hierocles upon the Golden Verse of Pythagoras*, 1657.

Lovelace's verses take the place of some French lines which appeared under the same portrait when it was prefixed to a French edition. In that of 1657 these lines read:

> Tel fut le Celebre Voiture,
> l'Amour de tous les beaux Espris:
> Mais bien mieux qu'en cette peinture,
> Tu le verras dans ses escris. D. P.

APPENDIX I

ACCOUNTS OF LOVELACE BY JOHN AUBREY AND ANTHONY À WOOD

RICHARD LOVELACE ESQ^R.[1]

Obijt in a Cellar, in Long-acre a little before the Restoration of his Mat^ie. Mr Edm: Wyld etc haue[2] made collections for him & givn him money: one of ye handsomst men of England. He was of . . . in Kent. 500^l per ann and + q. E. W. He was an extraordinary handsome Man, but prowd. He wrote a Poem called *Lucasta*, 8°. printed London by Th: Harper, to be sold at the Gun in Ivy-Lane. 1649. He was of Glocester-hall. as I have been told. He had 2 younger brothers, viz Col. Fr. L. & another brother that dyed at Carmarthem prout per Poëma. Geo. Petty Haberdasher in Fleet-street carryed xx^s to him every monday morning from S^r. . . . Many[3] & Charles Cotton Esq for . . .[4] moneths: but was never repayd.

At the right hand top corner of the MS., in connection with the second line of the quotation, Aubrey has written: 'He was a most beautifull Gentleman.', and in the left hand corner, also above the heading, the quotation from Ovid:

—Geminum, seu lumina sydus
Et dignos Baccho digitos, et Apolline crines
Impubesque genas, et eburnea colla decusque
Oris, et in niveo mistum candore ruborem.
Ovid. *Metamorph.* Fab. v. Echo. lib. iii.

These may be the lines to which he refers in a note in MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 5: 'Let me see Col Lovelace's life, to insert some verses'; i. e., as Mr. Clark comments, Aubrey asks back from Anthony Wood MS. Aubr. 8, to insert 'some verses'. In a side-note Aubrey has given the title of Lovelace's second volume: 'Lucasta. Posthumous Poems of Richard Lovelace Esqr, with verses of severall of his friends on Him. 8vo.'

Mr.

[1] From Aubrey's MS. in the Bodleian Library. MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 9.

[2] The word 'haue' is scored out by Aubrey, but retained in the text as he has not changed 'givn' to 'gave'.

[3] Aubrey at first wrote 'Mr. Charles Cotton' and then scored out the 'Mr.'

[4] Side-note 'q-q', i. e. 'quaere quot', as printed by Mr. Andrew Clark in his edition of the *Brief Lives*, 1898, ii, p. 38.

Appendix I.

Mr. Clark comments on the last sentence of Aubrey's account: 'The meaning seems to be that these two commissioned Petty to pay Lovelace a weekly allowance, but never re-paid him.' An equally possible and more likely interpretation is that Lovelace never repaid his benefactors through Petty.

Richardus Lovelace, in agro *Cantiano*, patre *Gulielmo Lovelace* de WOLWICHE, in eodem agro, Armigero, natus; in Aulam istam superioris ordinis Commensalis, quem generosum nuncupant, admissus fuit, an. dom. CIↃDCXXXIV. ætat. xvi. Elapso inde biennio, Gradu Magistrali per creationem, uti nos loquimur, auctus comparet; Rege, ac Reginâ, Aulicisque, ac Nobilibus permultis nobiscum tunc temporis agentibus. Formâ egregiâ, summâque corporis pulchritudine praeditus erat; quibus postquam facultatem poeticam elegantem adjecerat, nemo sane hominum fœminis evasit acceptior. Scripsit anglicè

Lucastam: Odas, Epodas, Cantilenas, &c. Lond. 1649., *Aramantham; Pastorale.* ibid. eod. anno.

Londini (in Vico, prout mihi nuntiatum, THE STRAND appellato) circa annum CICDCLVIII. fatis concessit; postquam scilicet vulgaribus Poetarum vitiis patrimonium dilapidârat.[1]

Richard Lovelace the eldest son Sir *Will. Lovelace* of *Woollidg* in *Kent* Knight, was born in that County, educated in Grammar learning in *Charter house* school near *London*, became a Gent. Commoner of *Glocester* Hall in the beginning of the year 1634, and in that of his age 16, being then accounted the most amiable and beautiful person that ever eye beheld, a person also of innate modesty, virtue and courtly deportment, which made him then, but especially after, when he retired to the great City, much admired and adored by the female sex. In 1636 when the King and Queen were for some days entertained at *Oxon*, he was, at the request of a great Lady belonging to the Queen, made to the Archb. of *Cant.* then Chancellor of the University, actually created, among other persons of quality, Master of Arts, tho but of about two years standing; at which time his Conversation being made publick, and consequently his ingenuity and generous soul discovered, he became as much admired by the male, as before by the female, sex. After he had left the

[1] *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, 1674, ii, p. 383.

the University he retired in great splendor to the Court, and being taken into the favour of *George* Lord *Goring*, afterwards Earl of *Norwich*, was by him adopted a Soldier, and sent in the quality of Ensign in the *Scotch* Expedition *an.* 1639. Afterwards, in the second Expedition, he was commissionated a Captain in the same Regiment, and in that time wrot a Tragedy called *The Soldier*, but never acted, because the stage was soon after supress'd. After the Pacification at *Berwick*, he retired to his native Country, and took possession of his Estate at *Lovelace place* in the Parish of *Bethersden*, at *Canterbury*, *Chart*, *Halden*, &c. worth at least 500*l. per an.* About which time he was made choice of by the whole body of the County of *Kent* at an Assize, to deliver the *Kentish Petition* to the H. of Commons, for the restoring the King to his Rights and for setling the Government, *&c.* For which piece of service he was committed to the *Gatehouse* at *Westminster*, where he made that celebrated song called *Stone walls do not a prison make*, &c. After 3 or 4 months prisonment, he had his liberty upon bayle of 40000*l.* not to stir out of the Lines of Communication, without a Pass from the Speaker. During this time of confinement to *London*, he lived beyond the income of his Estate, either to keep up the credit and reputation of the Kings Cause by furnishing men with Horse and Arms, or by relieving ingenious men in want, whether Scholars, Musitians, Soldiers, *&c.* Also by furnishing his two Brothers Colonel *Franc. Lovelace* and Capt. *Will. Lovelace* (afterwards slain at *Caermarthen*) with men and money for the Kings Cause, and his other brother called *Dudley Posthumus Lovelace* with moneys for his maintenance in *Holland* to study Tacticks and Fortification in that school of War. After the rendition of *Oxford* Garrison, in 1646, he formed a Regiment for the Service of the French King, was Colonel of it, and wounded at *Dunkirk*, and in 1648 returning into *England*, he with *Dud. Posthumus* before mention'd, then a Captain under him, were both committed Prisoners to *Peterhouse* in *London*, where he fram'd his Poems for the Press, intit.

Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, *&c. Lond.* 1649. oct. The reason why he gave that title was, because, some time before, he had made his amours to a Gentlewoman of great beauty and fortune named *Lucy Sacheverel*, whom he usually called *Lux casta*; but she upon a strong report that *Lovelace* was dead of his wound received at *Dunkirk*, soon after married. He also wrot,

 Aramantha :

Appendix I.

Aramantha: A pastoral—printed with *Lucasta.* Afterwards a musical Composition of two parts was set to part of it by *Hen. Lawes* sometimes Servant to K. *Ch.* 1. in his publick and private Musick. After the Murther of K. *Ch.* 1. *Lovelace* was set at liberty, and having by time consumed all his Estate, grew very melancholy, (which brought him at length into a Consumption) became very poor in body and purse, was the object of charity, went in ragged Cloaths (whereas when he was in his glory he wore Cloth of gold and silver) and mostly lodged in obscure and dirty places, more befitting the worst of Beggars, than poorest of Servants, &c. After his death, his Brother *Dudley* before mention'd made a collection of his poetical papers, fitted them for the Press, and intituled them,

Lucasta: Posthume Poems, *Lond.* 1659. oct. the second part, with his Picture before them. These are all the things that he hath extant: those that were never published, were his Trag. called *The Soldier* or *Soldiers*, before mention'd, and his Com. called *The Scholar*, which he composed at 16 years of age, when he came first to *Gloc.* Hall, acted with applause afterwards in *Salisbury Court.* He died in a very mean Lodging in *Gun-powder Alley* near *Shoe-lane*, and was buried at the west end of the Church of S. *Bride* alias *Bridget* in *London*, near to the body of his Kinsman *Will. Lovelace* of *Greys Inn* Esq. in sixteen hundred fifty and eight, having before been accounted by all those that well knew him, to have been a person well vers'd in the Greek and Lat. Poets, in Musick, whether practical or theoretical, instrumental or vocal, and in other things befitting a Gentleman. Some of the said persons have also added in my hearing, that his common discourse was not only significant and witty, but incomparably graceful, which drew respect from all Men and Women. Many other things I could now say of him, relating either to his most generous mind in his Prosperity, or dejected estate in his worst part of Poverty, but for brevity sake I shall now pass them by. At the end of his *Posthume Poems* are several Elegies written on him by eminent Poets of that time, wherein you may see his just character.[1]

APPENDIX II

[1] *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, ii, pp. 146–7. This account was reprinted by Dr. Charles Henry Olive Daniel, late Provost of Worcester College, on his private press at Oxford in 1896, and presented by him to the members of the Lovelace Club on the occasion of their two hundredth meeting on June 15.

APPENDIX II

THE KENTISH PETITION

The Kentish Petition was far from being an isolated phenomenon. Both before and after the outbreak of civil war, the King and Parliament were inundated with petitions of every description. According to Clarendon, the King at one time received several every day. Nearly all were printed, whether they set forth the demands of 'The Most Substantiall Inhabitants of the Citie of London', or only 'a most Lamentable Information of Part of the Grievances of Mugleswick'. In 1642 several petitions from Kent were printed. Two, from 'the Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers, Free-holders, and other Inhabitants of the County of *Kent*, as they were presented to both Houses of Parliament on the eighth, and ninth of *February*', which were printed with a petition from North-hampton, demanded among other things a thorough Reformation and the exclusion of Bishops and Roman Catholic Peers from the Upper House. Another petition, approving the exclusion of the Bishops, was sent in the same month, and another against the preservation of Episcopal Government in April. The Petition presented by Lovelace and Butler had been contrived in March by Sir Edward Dering,[1] Sir Roger Twysden, Sir George

[1] Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644) was a scholar, an antiquary, and an authority on Church affairs, being the Chairman of the Committee for religious matters in the Long Parliament, in which he sat as member for Kent. Although he moved the first reading of the Root and Branch Bill, it was not Episcopacy which he disliked, but the power of Laud and the Bishops. His fear of the growing power of the Presbyterians made him, who was formerly a 'truly Honourable and worthy member of the House of Commons', take a leading part in the drawing up of the Kentish Petition and later go over to the Royalist party, though he was no doubt influenced in that direction by a week's imprisonment in the Tower which followed his publication of *Four Speeches made by Sir Edward Dering* in 1641. His book was 'Censured to be burnt by the common Executioner, for his strange unadvised, and sudden differing from himself, and opposing the whole

George Strode, and Mr. Richard Spencer,[1] and was, on its first presentation by Dering, condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Thomason wrote on his copy of the printed pamphlet [E. 14, 2. (10)]: 'This was burned by the hand of the Hangman.' This Petition, which was generally referred to as 'The Kentish Petition', achieved considerable reputation or notoriety. References to its presentation were made by the King and by Clarendon. The *Answer in Defence of the Parliament* to a loyal Petition from Somerset referred to that as 'a vagrant Petition, which . . . as farre exceeds the Kentish Petition in malignity, as it is possible for one poyzen to exceed another invenom, and is as farre

whole House'. (*The Copie of a Letter Written unto Sir Edward Dering*, . . . 1641.) 'Thus it hapned with sir *Edward Deering*, he that once was the glory of the people, the Fame of the House, the credit of his Country, the object of each eye, but concerning some speeches of his which was printed onely by his owne consent, and without the Assent of the whole House, he gave great distaste unto them, and being found culpable therein, was immediately sent to the Tower.' (*Newes from the Tower, France and Purgatory*. . . . 1642.) He was imprisoned for a week only, and on March 25th, at the Maidstone Assizes, helped to draw up the Petition which was again presented to the House of Commons by Lovelace five weeks later. Dering was impeached for this, but escaped (*A perfect Diurnall of the severall passages in our late journey into Kent. Sept.* 1642) and raised a body of Horse for the King. The atmosphere of the Royalist camp and court, however, was not to his taste, he could not agree to the setting up of 'anti-Parliament at Oxford' (*A Declaration by Sir Edward Dering*, . . . 1644), and he failed to obtain the Deanery of Canterbury from the King, so, although his overtures to Parliament before Edgehill failed, he resigned his commission. The next year he was the first to accept the terms of Parliament and compound for his estates, but he died before he could take possession of them. Neither a statesman nor a soldier, he sought like many others for a middle course between the extreme views of both parties, and, as his fears of the Presbyterians drove him into the Royalist party, so his fears of the ways of that party induced him to make his peace with Parliament. 'Whereas Malignants, and some evill disposed people have censured this returne from Oxford to the Parliament, to be either because to be prickt Sheriff of Kent by the King could not be obtained, nor yet the Deanerie of Canterbury, and last of all to be turned out of the Parliament at Oxford; it is nothing but the malice of the envious brood that faigns the false calumnies to blemish by unjust reports. (*A Declaration wherein is given full satisfaction concerning Sir Edward Dering*, . . . 1644.) Clarendon describes Dering as 'a man very opposite to all their [the leading party in the House of Commons] designs, but a man of levity and vanity, easily flattered by being commended'.

[1] The House of Commons proceeded against all four. (*Commons Journals*, ii. 501, 543.)

farre below that in wit and judgement, as the least starre in Heaven is inferior to the Sun in light and lustre'. In May 1642, a Petition (British Museum, 669 f. 6) was sent from Kent disclaiming any part in the Kentish Petition,

'a Petition (as wee humbly conceive) of dangerous consequence, contrived by some few, and published the last Assizes holden for this County at *Maidstone*; and then, yea, [*sic*] yet advanced for Subscribers, and intended to be exhibited to this Honourable House, as the Petition of the whole body of this County, to cause the whole Kingdome to believe that Petition to be the Act of the whole County of *Kent*, or the major part thereof; whereby a great scandall is brought upon this loyall and peaceable County, the same Petition being stiled *The Kentish Petition*, which we know is not the Act of the body of the County, as it seems to speak, for as much as it was disavowed by many of the then Grand-jury, and Justices of the Bench, and by all us your Petitioners, whose names are underwritten'.

The King's answer to another loyal Petition from Kent[1] alludes to Lovelace's imprisonment:

'The Petitioners, and all other His Maiesties good Subjects (who out of a true sense of the Distraction and Ruine the Common wealth must speedily fall into through these Distempters, have prepared Sober, and Moderate Petitions, and Animadversions for the peace of the Kingdome) have been discountenanced, censured, and imprisoned in a Lawlesse Arbitrary way, when no offence hath been committed by them, of which the Law hath taken notice: . . .

Parliament in their *Instructions from the Honourable House of Commons Assembled in Parliament, to the Committee in Kent*, . . . Aug. 13, 1642, wrote:

'Whereas The House is credibly inform'd, that some ill-affected

[1] *The Humble Petition Of The Commons of Kent, Agreed upon at their Generall Assizes, Presented to His Maiestie the First of August. 1642. With certaine Instructions from the County of Kent to Mr. Augustine Skinner, whereby the Desires of the said Countie may be presented by him to the Honourable House of Commons. With His Maiesties Answer to the aforesaid PETITION. At the Court at Yorke, August 4. 1642. First printed at Yorke, and now reprinted at London for William Smith. 1642.* Thomason has a note on his copy of this petition, 'Presented 17th and prohibited.'

affected persons within the County of *Kent* are now endeavouring to disperse rumors to the scandall of Parliament, and to censure the proceedings against the promoters of the late dangerous Petition; and they have plotted for this purpose to meet at the Assizes, the further to extend their malicious designes; . . .'

and appointed a Committee to go down to the Assizes and sit on the Bench, 'suitably to their Authority and Trust'. To this the Justices replied that they had not 'the power to place any on the Bench, not sent thither by the like authority we sit here'.[1] The friends of the Parliament sent in *The Humble Petition and Protestation of the County of KENT: Presented the 30th of August, 1642. to the Honourable Houses of Parliament. By Sir JOHN SIDLEY Knight, with many thousands of hands thereunto. Wherein they disclaim that late, bold, and unexampled Petition sent to His Majestie, contrived by a few malevolent, ambitious, and loose persons, and their reall affections to KING and PARLIAMENT. . . . September 1. 1642.* They handed with it a list of 'Malignant and ill-affected persons', and Sir John Sidley said that

'The Commons of *Kent* are very deeply sensible of the many injuries done them by severall Petitions, especially by that late unexampled bold one to His Majestie, falsly assuming to it the Votes of the whole County; whereas indeed, it was contrived by a few malevolent and ambitious spirits only, and wholly disclaimed of the Commons, and was subscribed by divers loose and dissolute persons. This was growing to a dangerous Imposthume (having gathered the most of its corruption about the Town of *Maydstone*) had not the Parliament timely observed it, and applyed that seasonable remedy, sending down the late Troops of Horse to launch the sore, thereby preventing all further or future ulceration: . . .'

The House condoled with them, '. . . especially observing the many subtill practises that have bin set on foot under the name of that County, to work in this House a contrary opinion of you;' promised to proceed against the ill-affected persons 'with all expedition and severity', and answered the

[1] Cf. Clarendon, ed. Murray, v. 426, vol. ii, p. 247.

the request for arms and ammunition by saying they had already granted full power to a Committee and Deputy Lieutenants.

On the side of the Parliament again were *The Resolution Of The Gentry and Commonalty of the County of Kent: Wherein they declare their Love and Loyalty to the Parliament, with their full Determination to hazard their lives and fortures in this present expedition, against the evill Counsellours and Cavaliers that are enemies to the King and Parliament: With their humble Petition presented to the House of Peeres: . . . Nov: 28 . . . 1642*, and in the following month a *Declaration of the Knights, Gentry, and Trained Bands of Kent*, presented to the House of Commons, 'wherein they declare their resolution to march against the King's Army and to rescue His Majesty out of the Cavaleers hands'.

The Royalist point of view is represented in 'The most humble Petition of divers *Baronets, Knights, Iustices, Gentry, Ministers, and Freeholders, Inhabitants of the County of KENT, within the Diocesse of CANTERBURY*', which was printed in *A Collection of Svndry Petitions Presented to the Kings Most excellent Majestie. As also To the two most Honourable Houses, now assembled in Parliament. . . . Collected by a faithfull Lover of the Church, for the comfort of the dejected Clergy, and all moderately affected Protestants. Published by his Majesties speciall Command. . . . 1642.* The Kentish Petition, which was presented by Lovelace, is reprinted in this collection of twenty loyal petitions. Kent long remained loyal to the King, and in its account of the disturbances at Canterbury at Christmas, 1647, *Mercurius Pragmaticus* boasted that though 'the rest of the *Kingdome* hath been conquer'd severall times, yet *Kent* never was'.

The following is the full text of the petition which was presented for the second time by Lovelace on April 30th. The title page is reproduced overleaf.[1]

To

[1] '*Tho.* Fawcett, who printed the *Kentish* Petition, was brought to the Bar; confessed that the Petition was printed at his Press; . . .' (*Commons Journals*, 1642, p. 518.)

Appendix II.

To The Honorable House of Commons Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

The Humble Petition of the Gentry, Ministers, and Commonalty of the County of KENT, agreed upon at the generall Assizes of the County.

Most humbly SHEWETH,

That wee cannot but take notice, how welcome to this Honorable House, many Petitions have been, which yet came not from an Assembled body of any County (as this doth) we doe therefore hope to finde as gentle and favourable a reception of this, as any other have found of their Petitions, our hearts witnessing unto us, as good, peaceable, and pious purposes as the best.

These are therefore the true and Ardent desires of this COUNTIE.

1. That you will be pleased to accept of our true and hearty thanks for those excellent Lawes (which by His Maiesties grace and goodnesse) you have obtained for us.
2. That all Lawes against Papists, be put in due execution, and an account taken of their disarming, and that all Children of the Papists, may be brought up in the reformed Religion.
3. That the Solemne *Liturgy* of the Church of England (Celebrous by the piety of the Bishops and Martyrs, who composed it) establish'd by the supream Lawes of this Land, attested and approved by the best of all Forraigne Devines, confirmed by the subscription of all the Ministery of this Land, A Clergie as able and learned, as any of the Christian world ere inioyed, and with a holy love embraced by the most and best of all the Laity, that this holy exercise of Religion may by your Authority be inioyed quiet and free from interruptions, scornes, prophanenesse, threats and force of such men, who daily doe deprave it, and neglect the use of it in divers Churches, in despight of the Lawe established.
4. That Episcopall Government, as Antient in this Iland as Christianity it selfe, deduced and dispersed throughout the Christian world, even from the Apostolicall times, may be preserved (as the most pious, most prudent, and most safe Government) for the peace of the Church.
5. That all differences concerning Religion and Ceremonies, may be referred to a lawfull, free, and Nationall Synod, as your Remonstrance promiseth, to a generall Synod of

most

THE PETITION

Of the Gentrie, Ministers, and Commonalty of the County of KENT.

Agreed upon at the Generall Assizes last holden for that County.

The Copie of which Petition being delivered to Iudge *Mallet* (who was for that Circuit) and afterwards to the Earle of *Bristoll*.

Which Petition being concealed from the Parliament by the Earle of *Bristoll*, and the said Judge *Mallet* was for the same, both committed to the Tower, *March* 28. 1642.

LONDON, Printed, 1642.

most grave, learned, pious, and Iuditious Divines (the proper agents) whose interests, gifts, and callings, may quicken them in that great Worke, whose choyce to be by all the Cleargie of the Land, because all the Clergie are to bee bound by their Resolutions, and the determination of this Synod to bind us all, when you have first formed them into a Law, and this we take to be according to the antient and fundamentall Law of this Land, confirmed by *Magna Charta*.

6. That some speedy and good provision may be made (as by his Maiesty hath beene, and is by all good men desired) againe [*sic*] the odious & abominable scandall of schismatical and seditious Sermons and Pamphlets, and some severe Law made against Lay-men, for daring to arrogate to themselves, and to execute the holy function of the Ministry, who (some of them) doe sowe their impious and discontented Doctrine even in Sacred places, by abuse of Sacred Ordinances, to the advancing of Heresie, Schisme, Profanenesse, Libertinisme, Anabaptisme, and Atheisme.
7. That if the cœrtive [*sic*] power of Ecclesiasticall Courts, by way of Excommunication be already abrogated, or shall be thought fit so to bee, that there be some other power and authority speedily established, for suppressing the heynous, and now so much abounding sinnes of Incest, adultery, and Fornication, and other crimes, and for recovering Tythes, repairing of Churches, Probate of Wills, Church assesses, providing Bread and Wine for the Communion, and choice of Church-wardens, and other Officers in the Church, and especially for Ministers, who neglect the Celebrating of the holy Communion, and the Parishioners for not Receiving.
8. That the professors of that learned faculty of the civill Law, & [*sic*] (without which this kingdom cannot but suffer manifold Inconveniences) may not find discouragements, and so divert their studies & Professions.
9. That honor and profits, the powerfull encouragements of industry, learning, and Pietie, may be preserved without further dimination to the Clergie.
10. That you please sadly to consider the bleeding wounds of our Brethren in *Ireland*, & with speedy succours, endeavour to preserve them, whereunto his Maiestie hath promised a gracious concurrence.
11. That you please to frame an especiall law for the Regulating of the *Militia* of this Kingdome, so that the

 Subiect

Subiect may know how at once to obey both His Maiestie, and both Houses of Parliament, a Law whereby may be left to the discretion of Governors, as little as may be, but that the number of Armes and what measure of punishment shall be inflicted upon the offendors, may be expresly set downe in the Act, and not left to any Arbitrary power, and that according to the president of former lawes, the Offendors may not be tryed out of the County.

12. That the precious Libertie of the Subiect (the common birth-right of every *English-man*) may be as in all these points preserved entire, so in this also, that no order of either of both Houses, not grounded on the Lawes of this Land, may be enforced on the Subiect, till it be fully enacted by Parliament.

13. That His Maiesties gracious Message of the 20. of *Ianuary* last, for the present and future establishment of the Priviledges of Parliament, and free enioying of our estates and Fortunes, the libertie of our persons, the securitie of the true Religion professed, the maintaining of his Maiesties Iust and Regall authority, the establishing His Revenue, may be taken into speedy consideration the affecting whereof will satisfie the desires of all us, His faithfull, and loving Subiects.

14. That all possible care may be taken, that the Native Commodities of this Kingdome, may have a quick vent, and that Cloathing, and other Manufactures may be improved, wherein the livelyhood of many thousands doe consist, and that Trade may be ballanced, that the importation doe not exceed the exportation, otherwise it prove a consumption of the Land.

15. That you please to frame some Lawes concerning Depopulations, Purveyances, Cart-taking, delayes in Iustice, Trafficke, Fishing in the Coast, Fulling Earth, that our Sea Forts may be repayred, and our Magazines renewed.

19. [*sic*] That you will please to consider the generall poverty that seems to overgrow this Kingdome.

17. Lastly, We humble [*sic*] beseech you to consider the sad condition, that we and the whole Land are in, if a good understanding be not speedily renued betweene, his Maiestie and both houses of Parliment. Our hopes are yet above our feares, secure them we beseech you, God direct and guide your consultations for the removing of

 all

all distrusts and Iealousies, for the renuing that tye of confidence and trust, (which is the highest happinesse) betweene our gracious Prince, and his loving Subiects.

And you shal have the dayly prayers of your humble Orators of the Commonalty of Kent.

To meet at Black-Heath the 29. of *Aprill.* by 9. of the Clocke at the furthest, to accompanie this Petition to the Parliament. 1642.

FINIS.

The reasons why many clauses in this Petition were particularly obnoxious to Parliament are given in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* under the years 1641 and 1642. Particular passages in the History which relate to various clauses are noted below. The references are to W. Dunn Macray's edition, 1888.

Opening sentence on petitions: iii. 169; iv. 262–9, 340.
1. iii. 256–271.
2. iii. 23, 179–80; iv. 3, 105; v. 53, 56–7.
3. iii. 56; iv. 38; v. 133.
4. iii. 66, 68, 148–53, 155–6, 240–2; iv. 33–5, 118–19, 139–46, 214, 272–4, 297–304, 312.
5. v. 133–5.
6. iii. 56–65; iv. 169; v. 23, 122.
7. iii. 257–261.
10. iv. 24–31, 85, 87–93, 285, 313, 346, 355–8; v. 59–79. The word 'Sadly' in this clause is used in its old sense of 'carefully' or 'seriously'.
11. iii. 244–6; iv. 95–100, 214, 270–5, 282–3, 306–7, 311–12, 317, 320–2, 327, 329, 348, 350; v. 21, 79–87, 117–31.
13. In this clause the wording is based on the King's message of Jan. 20. iv. 168–72, 229, 344, 349; v. 19–29.
16. iv. 263–9.

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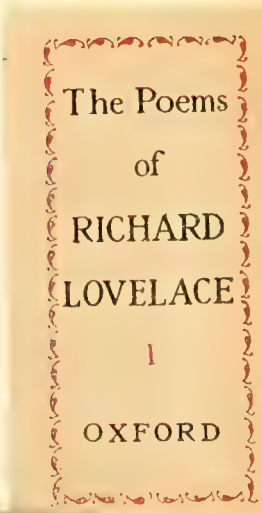

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